

Music & Letters

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Edited by

A. H. FOX STRANGWAYS

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Music and Letters

APRIL, 1929.

VOLUME X

No. 2

THE time has come when I must announce definitely that MUSIC AND LETTERS will have to be discontinued unless more subscribers can be found. It has already received generous support from readers who manage to find in its pages what is of real use to them, or who like to have it on their shelves for future reference, or who agree with the general attitude towards music which it adopts, or who take pleasure in reading all sorts of things about their hobby or profession. Its public has been constant and appreciative, but not large enough to make it financially safe. A private appeal has been made to the present subscribers to do what they could; and they have done it. With regret I have to say that this has not been enough and that, the available capital being now spent, the publication must stop at the end of its tenth year, which will be with the October number, unless some additional support can be guaranteed.

I ought to say that the expenses are at a minimum—the cost of printing (text and illustrations), payment of contributors, and a small office—and that there was no expectation of, nor has there been, a profit. To make a short story of it, there has been more love than money in the business. The magazine has acquired also a certain independence by denying itself the possible advantage of being connected with a publishing firm.

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A. H. FOX STRANGWAYS.

(Editor and Owner).

THE SUMERIAN HARP OF UR, c. 3500 B.C

SYNOPSIS.

Introduction: Sumerian Musical Instruments. 1. The Bow-shaped Harp. 2. The Sumerians. 3. The Development and Distribution of the Harp. 4. The Derivatives of the Bow-shaped Harp.

In the year 1874 the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in conjunction with the Anthropological Institute, issued a book of instructions for the guidance of explorers and residents in lands overseas, which should enable them to collect definite information concerning the customs, arts and social life of little known peoples. The importance of music and musical instruments in connection with this line of research was brought prominently to their notice by Carl Engel, whose valuable labours in this direction had already attracted the attention of ethnologists. Section 68, therefore, of the book was devoted to music, vocal and instrumental, with questions as to native scales, compositions, performances and traditions.

It is a matter for regret that, although half a century has elapsed since this laudable effort was made, the subject of music and ethnology, at any rate in this country, is still considered a matter of minor importance. With the exception of works like *The Natural History of the Musical Bow* (Henry Balfour), *The Precursors of the Violin Family* (K. Schlesinger), *The World's Earliest Music* (Hermann Smith), the comparative study of the musical instruments of the various races of mankind is a blank.

Now, however, the subject has been once more brought prominently before us by the archaeological discoveries which have been made during the past few years in the Near East and more especially in that once mysterious land of Sumer, the biblical country of Shinar, the alluvial delta of the 'two rivers,' Euphrates and Tigris. As we write, this land is day by day rapidly unveiling the riches and wonders of her past under the experienced guidance of trained explorers.

Without wishing in any way to minimise or undervalue the researches of others in this cradle of the human race and the debt we owe to them and to their fellow workers in N.W. India and

Southern Egypt for persistent and patient labour, it is to the recent excavations in and around the great terraced temple of Nannar at Ur in Mesopotamia (some 125 miles south-east of Babylon and about the same distance from the head of the Persian Gulf), to-day a lofty artificial mound rising from the plain six miles from the southern bank of the Euphrates, that I wish to direct your attention. Amid a wealth of gold and silver treasure of the highest craftsmanship and artistic design, have been and are being discovered representations in engraved shell mosaic of the musical instruments used by the Sumerians in the fourth millennium B.C., and, not only representations, but the remains of actual instruments—the lyre and harp which charmed the ears of a music-loving people five thousand years ago. Prominent amongst them is the LYRE,⁽¹⁾ no longer here in its simple Semitic form, but elaborated by the skill of the Sumerian luthier. The design is already familiar to us from the example carved on a bas-relief⁽²⁾ found at Tell-Loh among the ruins of the palace of an early Sumerian *patesi* or Governor, Gudea of Lagaash (c. 2800 B.C.); but Mr. C. Leonard Woolley, to whom we are chiefly indebted for the new discoveries at Ur "of the Chaldees," has enriched our knowledge of the instrument beyond all expectation. On plate I will be seen reproductions from the shell mosaics of performers on the 8-stringed and 11-stringed lyre⁽³⁾; the body of a 10-stringed instrument has also been found, the lines of the decayed gut strings marked in the soil; and only a month or so ago three of

(1) It may be well at the outset to explain the radical difference between the true lyre and the true harp, as the instruments discovered at Ur have hitherto been all classed as 'harps.' The Lyre has a somewhat small and shallow body or sound-box from each end of which rises a post or arm joined together again at the top by a cross-bar. The strings are usually attached to the bottom of the body and pass across the table or front of the sound-box over a shallow bridge to the cross-bar, where they are tuned: in more developed examples they are fixed to a bridge bar on the table. The general outline of the whole instrument is rectangular. On the Harp, however, the strings do not lie across the sound-box, but rise from it to a projecting arm springing from one end of it; on this arm are the tuning pins. The general outline of the harp is triangular; in Oriental and African instruments the third side has, almost invariably, no structural completion, but in the Scandinavian or European harp a front support or pillar joins the top of the arm to the lower end of the body. There are, of course, occasional hybrids created by the whim of the maker or the fancy of the artist; but in all the best forms the characteristic type is constant. In the psalter the sound-box underlies the whole length of the strings across which they are stretched; the outline of the sound-box or body, and therefore of the instrument, may vary considerably, but the player on the psalter cannot use his hands on both sides of the strings as on the lyre and harp.

(2) cf. Ernest de Sarzec. *Découvertes en Chaldée*, 1893, pl. 23.

(3) The method of fine tuning these lyres is very interesting, as it is also found on many of the lyres of Greece and Rome. After the string is drawn round the top bar at the approximate pitch, the end is twisted over a small rod of wood; by pressing down the end of the rod the pitch is slightly raised; by pressing it up, it is flattened. This device is still used on the Abyssinian lyre. See V. Mahillon, *Cat. Brussels Conservatoire Museum*, Vol. III., p. 87. B. Ankermann, *Die Afrikanischen Musikinstrumente*, p. 24.

these lyres were unearthed. I cannot do better than describe them in Mr. Woolley's own words⁽⁴⁾:

Of one the sounding-box was decorated with broad bands of mosaic, the upright beams encrusted with shell, lapis lazuli and red stone between bands of gold, the top bar plated with silver; in front of the sounding-box was a magnificent head of a bearded bull in gold, and below this shell plaques with designs picked out in red and black. A second instrument of the same type was entirely in silver relieved only by a simple inlay in white and blue and by shell plaques beneath the silver cow's head in front of the sounding-box. Below these was found a third of a different sort; the body, made of silver, was shaped rather like a boat with a high stern to form the back upright; the front upright was supported by a silver statue of a stag nearly 2 ft. high, whose front feet rest in a crook of the stem of a plant, made of copper, the long arrow-like leaves of which rise up on each side level with the horns.

And this is only the beginning of things!

Other instruments portrayed in shell are the SISTRUM and the TABOR-DRUM. The former has been hailed as pre-eminently Egyptian and due to commercial intercourse with that country; but, as will be seen in the illustration on plate I, where it is held by a seated jackal, the instrument is not of the 'stirrup' or of the 'temple' type so commonly found in ancient tombs and Egyptian paintings: it is a very early 'spur' form which exists still in Abyssinia and has also been found in the district of the Caucasus. An Egyptian specimen of c. 2500 B.C., with a wooden frame was discovered at Assiut and is now in the Berlin State Museum⁽⁵⁾: it is not improbable that the then princes of Siut were in close touch with Babylonian ways and wares, and Sumer after all may be its original home. The rectangular tabor on the jackal's knees is identical with the Arab *Deff*⁽⁶⁾ played to-day in the same way, by tapping with the finger tips. No traces of wind instruments have at present been revealed, but we trust that, with the great promise before it, further research will yield examples of pipe and horn.

1. THE BOW-SHAPED HARP.

There is, however, one other instrument to which I wish to draw special attention; at present it is unique, but at any moment other

⁽⁴⁾ *The Times*, January 22, 1929. As two uprights are mentioned in the case of the third instrument, I class it as a lyre.

⁽⁵⁾ Curt Sachs: *Die instrumente d. alten Aegypten*, 1921. Ill. 51; see also letterpress.

⁽⁶⁾ cf. Alex. Christianowitch *La Musique Arabe*, 1863. Ill. 11.

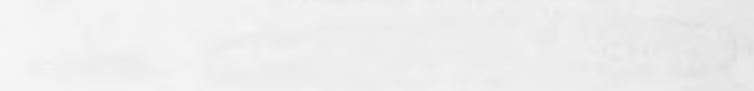


PLATE I.

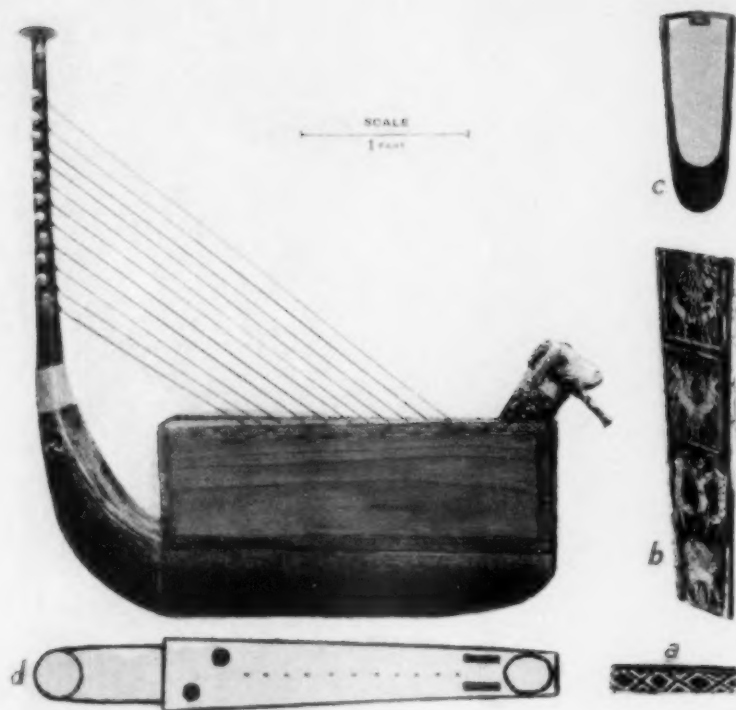


Fig. I. THE SUMERIAN HARP OF UR (c.3500 B.C.)

a.b. Border and terminal plaque of soundboard (enlarged).

c.d. Section and contour of body (from existing indications and typical analogy.)



Fig. II. Lyre, Sistrum and Tabor.



Fig. III. Lyre-player and Singer.

SUMERIAN MUSICIANS.



THE HARPS OF THE EAST

1. Backless Harp (Egyptian). 2. Egyptian Shoulder Harp. 3. Arabian Harp. 4. Egyptian Harp. 5. Arabian Harp. 6. Egyptian Harp. 7. Arabian Harp. 8. Egyptian Harp. 9. Arabian Harp. 10. Egyptian Harp. 11. Arabian Harp. 12. Egyptian Harp. 13. Arabian Harp.

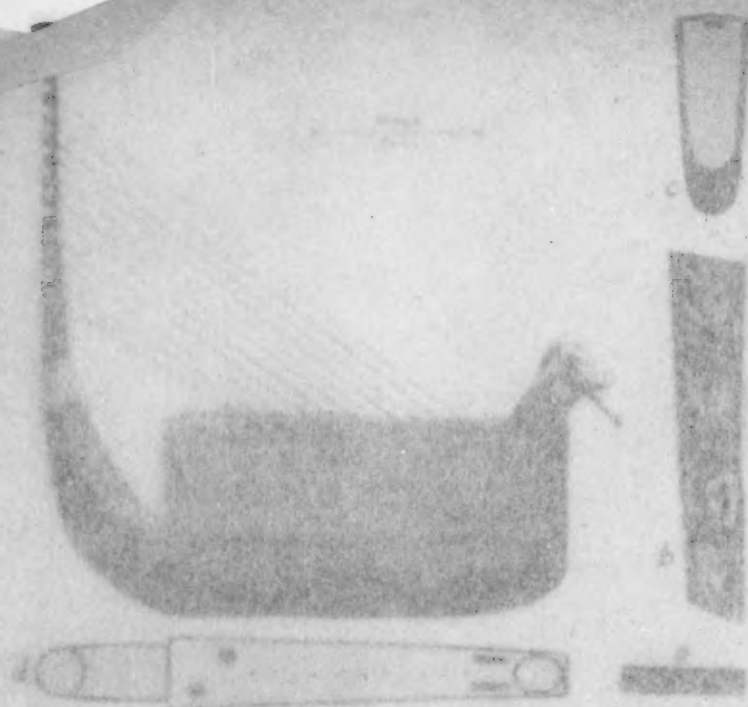


Fig. 1. The Kurgan Plate of the Kurgan.

Fig. 2. The Kurgan Plate of the Kurgan.

Fig. 3. The Kurgan Plate of the Kurgan.



Fig. 4. The Kurgan Plate of the Kurgan.

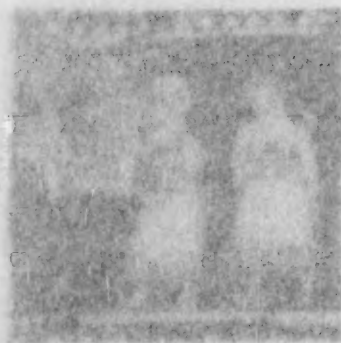
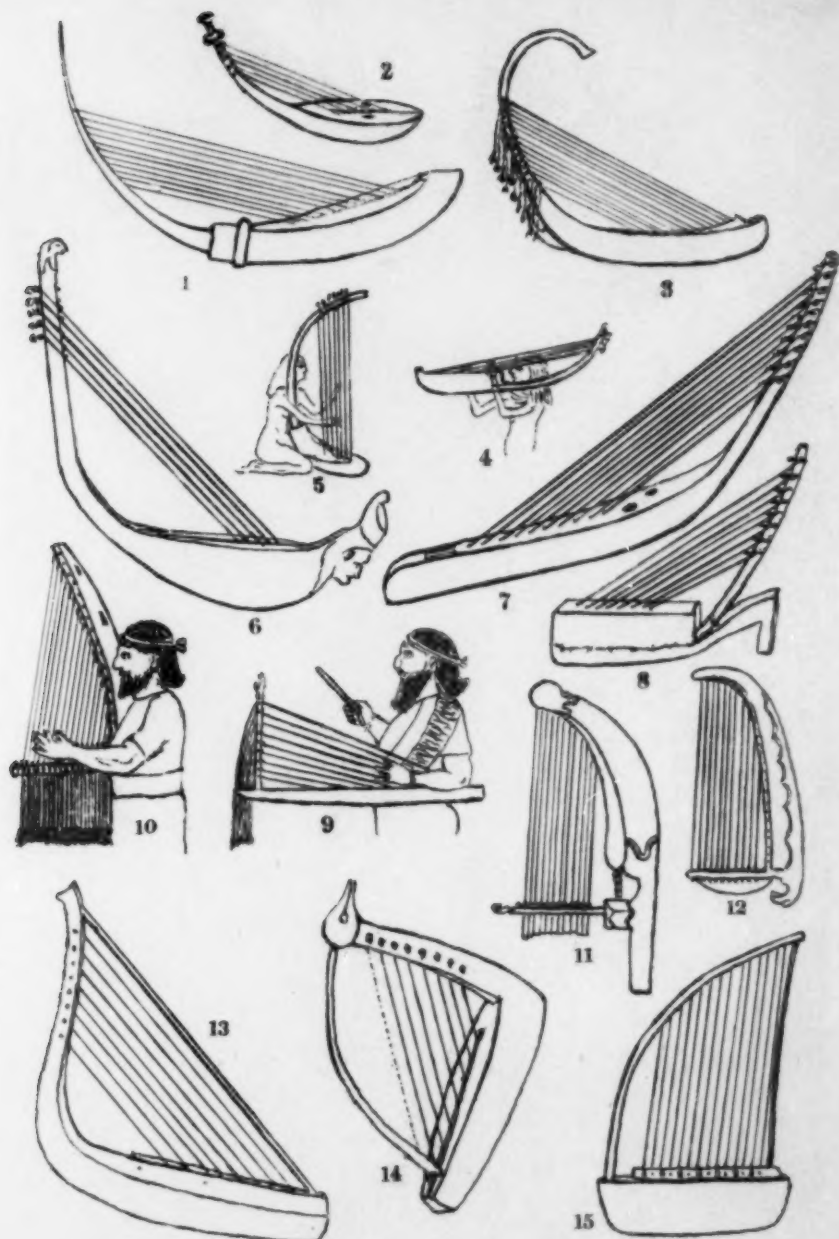


Fig. 5. The Kurgan Plate of the Kurgan.

Fig. 6. The Kurgan Plate of the Kurgan.



THE BOW-SHAPED HARP
and its derivatives.

1. Bactrian Harp (c. 250 B.C.-250 A.D.) 2. Pompeian Harp (c. 79 A.D.) 3. Burmese Saun (modern)
4. Egyptian shoulder harp (c. 3000 B.C.) 5. Egyptian upright harp (c. 2300 B.C.) 6. Egyptian
Harp (c. 1500 B.C.) 7. Adamaua Harp (West Central Africa). 8. Ombi (Fan Tribe, W. Central
Africa). THE ANGLE HARP. 9. Assyrian horizontal Harp (c. 650 B.C.) 10. Assyrian
upright Harp (c. 650 B.C.) 11. Kung-hou (China c. 600 A.D.) 12. Moorish Harp (c. 1200 A.D.)
THE ORIENTAL PILLAR HARP. 13 14. Ostyak Harps (Western Siberia). 15. Cambodian (?)
Harp (S.E. Asia)

specimens may be forthcoming, and I hope they will, even though they may differ in some respects from that already found. It is the large HARP found by Mr. Woolley in the arms of the girl musician lying in the outer chamber of the tomb of Queen Shub-ad. It is certainly the oldest harp now in existence, antedating those of Egypt of which the remains may be seen in many museums. The incidence of its discovery and the clever way in which it was excavated and preserved are so interesting that again we must quote Mr. Woolley's graphic account given in *The Times*⁽⁷⁾:

The first object found was a harp. There turned up a staff-head of gold and then several copper nails with large gilt heads; careful search disclosed a hole running down into the earth from the side of which nail-shafts projected into the void left by the decay of the original wood. A stout wire was inserted and the hole filled up with plaster of Paris, and thus a cast was made of what proved to be the upright beam of the harp with the remaining (5) nails in their correct positions; the beam was bound with gold below and ended in a shoe of bitumen. The base of the instrument was boat-shaped, of wood edged with a narrow band of gold and lapis lazuli, and on it stood the sounding-box: this was of wood, also completely decayed, but its exact form was preserved by the inlaid border of red, white and blue (hematite, shell and lapis) which the hard soil had kept in place: it was a narrow box, rectangular on three sides, but raking forward in front to end in a large calf's head⁽⁸⁾ of gold with top-knot and formally curled beard of lapis lazuli, and shell and lapis eyes; below the beard the front of the box was decorated with shell plaques engraved with mythological scenes.

This harp is now preserved in the British Museum, but its restoration has not been very happily conceived. Fortunately there is no doubt as to the main details and approximate measurements, but the lower portion of the body—apart from the sound-box—is admittedly conjectural. A photograph of the Museum restoration, together with a very interesting one of the process of excavation, will be found in the *Antiquaries Journal*, noted above.⁽⁹⁾ After a careful comparison with other specimens of the bow-shaped harp—a type well known and widely distributed, as will be shown below—I have in the illustration on plate I shown the Sumerian example in its more

(7) *The Times*, Jan. 12, 1928: See also *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1928, and *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. VIII. Oct., 1928.

(8) The appearance of the figure of a bull or a bull's or calf's head on these instruments is due to the fact that Nannar, the popular Moon God and patron of Ur, was called the powerful bull or heifer of Anu, God of Heaven. He is represented with crescent horns and a long flowing beard having the colour of lapis lazuli.

(9) See also C. L. Woolley *The Sumerians*, 1928, p. 28.

likely and certainly more graceful form.⁽¹⁰⁾ The instrument, as will be seen, consists of a boat-shaped body and a long neck which is 27½ inches in vertical length to the lower edge of the gold band. As with nearly all the Oriental harps there is no front pillar, which was a much later addition, peculiar, though not entirely, to Europe. The neck was without doubt originally inserted by a tenon into the wooden body, the joint being strengthened with bitumen and encircled by a band of gold. This method is borne out by more recent specimens. The top of the neck is surmounted by a raised cap of gold, which was at first taken to be a staff-head, but is similar to the finials on the later Assyrian instruments. Into the neck are inserted eleven copper 'pins' with round heads: Mr. Woolley calls them 'keys,' by which I suppose is meant 'tuning pegs': but I think he is more correct in describing them as 'nails,' for they do not pierce the wooden neck like harp pins of the present day, and, although we should like to regard them as tuning pegs for the strings, it seems to me that from their shape and the round flat head they were more probably fixed in the wood and served as guides for the strings which were wound round them and the neck to the tension required. This was evidently the purpose of the wooden pegs observable in specimens of the earlier Egyptian harps of this type (pl. II, 4) and it is not until the eighteenth dynasty (c. 1500 B.C.) that we have an actual example of a bow-shaped harp with tuning-pegs⁽¹¹⁾ in any modern sense (pl. II, 6, Brit. Mus.). The Burmese harp (pl. II, 3) of the present day, which is without these guides, is dependent solely upon hand tension or on the raising of the string on the sloping neck: but in Africa the string is often wound once round the neck, then looped over itself and brought back to the pin: by drawing up or by loosening the string on the pin the loop tightens or relaxes the string, at the same time forming a rigid vibrating point or 'nut.' Most probably the Sumerian harp was tuned in this way, the pins at the side instead of at the back facilitating the arrangement.⁽¹²⁾

The body of the instrument is, like the lyre already mentioned, an elaborated form of the more primitive shape (pl. II, 1); and although

(10) The photographs on this plate are reproduced with the permission of The Director of the British Museum. Figs. II and III are from a shell plaque on the supposed body of a lyre, and from the King's Standard respectively.

(11) As will be seen I do not attach much importance to Wilkinson's illustrations of very modern pegs with holes said to be shown in harps of the 3rd millennium B.C. at Beni-Hasan. See Sir J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1837-41. Also C. Engel, *Music of the Most Ancient Nations*, p. 222.

(12) Even on the Egyptian harp of the eighteenth dynasty the strings could not have been attached directly to the peg but some system of loop or nut must have been used: for the pegs are at the back of the neck which, being flat at the side, causes the strings to jar.

in the Museum restoration it appears in two marked sections I do not think that there was originally so great a distinction and for this reason. Beneath the calf's head at the end of the upper part, which is $27\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length by $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in depth, there is a shell plaque (pl. I, b): as will be noticed it is not rectangular, but narrows from 3 inches at the top to 2 inches at the bottom; this shows that the upper part of the body was not parallel-sided, but had an inward slope and this slope, I believe, was continued in the lower portion of the body. Again, in the Museum restoration there is an awkward gap between the 'shoe' of the neck (as Mr. Woolley terms it) and the upper part of the body: the greatest depth of this 'shoe' is shown by the line of gold and lapis inlay to be about 6 inches and the width about 4 inches; the upper part, therefore, in order to be in line with the lower, will be 4 inches in width at the 'shoe' end and 2 inches, as previously stated, at the plaque end; and, owing to the outward splay of the upper part, the top of the sound-box will be 5 inches wide at one end and 3 inches at the other. It may be asked what authority is there for this narrowing of the body? It is a long way from Babylonia to Central Africa, but the bow-shaped harp is there, and the specimen from the Adamaua district in the Kamerun shows a similar rake of the body with the sides splayed as in its forerunner and—as I hope to prove—its ancestor in the land of Sumer (pl. II, 7). Although the 'table' of the sound-board in African examples of the present day is usually of stretched skin, yet 'tables' of wood are found and in the Sumerian harp it was certainly of wood, for the lapping of the skin would have concealed the delicate inlay on the upper edges.

The perpendicular rise of the upper part of the body where it abuts on the 'shoe' is not remarkable and has its counterpart in the similar harps of ancient Egypt and in Africa of to-day (pl. II, 4, 8): though somewhat pronounced it must be correct, as its height is marked by the inlaid strip. The whole body with the 'shoe' was probably made of one piece of wood hollowed out within, as shown in the cross section (pl. I, c), two blocks being left, one at each end, to strengthen the thin upper part and afford attachment for the bar of wood running beneath the 'table' and to which the strings were attached. There must also have been sound holes, if only to permit the knotting of the string after it was passed through the small hole in the 'table' and 'bar.' As no vestige of wood remains, I have placed them as in the Adamaua specimen (pl. I, d). The whole body with its natural wood—perhaps of almug or red-sandal from India—in the upper part and thin silver plates covering the lower part must have formed, with its gold and inlay, an instrument worthy of a queen's court. There is, at present, no representation of the instru-

ment in the hands of the performer, but it was evidently held with the emblematic calf's head forward; it might have been carried thus on the shoulder in procession (pl. II, 4), but probably from its position by the side of the body of the player when found, it was rested either on a stand or on the lap, the neck lying on the left shoulder. As shown, it is fitted with 11 strings: and this, I think, is correct, not only because no loose 'pin' would escape the eyes of Mr. Woolley and his co-workers, but also because it is the correct number for this type of harp, as I shall presently show. We should like to know the original pitch and tuning of this five thousand year old instrument; yet whatever we may suggest will lay us open to contradiction as being the impossible: personally, I had no preconceived idea of the scale, but by careful measurements of the vibrating lengths of the strings from neck to sound-board I came to the conclusion that the difference in length between the longest and shortest strings (viz., 22 inches) could not in a course of eleven strings be referred to the pentatonic scale so dearly beloved by our musical antiquaries of fifty years ago. I then took the measurement of the string lengths of an early and simple form of western diatonic harp, of which I knew the correct tuning, and I found that the longest string of the Sumerian harp corresponded with the string giving E below the bass stave and the shortest with the eleventh string upwards sounding the note a on the fifth line of the same stave. This gave a simple scale from E to a of two disjunct tetrachords and a conjunct tetrachord at the upper end; in fact, the *systema teleion* or Perfect Scale in the diatonic genus of Greek music. I must leave it there, only adding that the same scale is still in use for the *Saun*—the Burmese bow-shaped harp; the tuning of its 13 strings consists of two conjunct tetrachords and one disjunct from B to e¹ with an added A at the bottom and an f¹ at the top of the scale.

2. THE SUMERIANS.

We may well ask, who are these Sumerians now standing in the forefront of the musical history of the world? Who are these people whose doings in peace and war are pictured for us so realistically on their mosaic inlays? Who are the men and women whose adornments in gold and silver, wrought with consummate art, we can to-day handle and admire? The answer is not easily given, for it is evident that when they come before us in these early days of history revealed by the recent discoveries in Babylonia or, as we now call it, Iraq, they appear as a civilised, industrious, art-loving nation. We see them, in fact, at the zenith of their greatness and are permitted to witness

its afterglow and decline : one day we hope the dawn will be disclosed as archæologist and ethnologist unfold their earliest story.

To this good end, shall not Music too lend her aid? Let me begin by briefly stating some of the more recent opinions expressed concerning the origin and racial affinity of the Sumerians. It is, I think, generally conceded that they—or, at any rate, their ruling castes—were not the original inhabitants of the delta formed by the Euphrates and Tigris. A very interesting and probable sketch of the formation of this fertile tract of 'Sea Land,' as it was called, has been given by Mr. Woolley⁽¹³⁾ and it is clear that, until some sort of lagoon was produced by the creation of a bar of silt across the upper end of the Persian Gulf, the alluvial tract, known afterwards as the Land of Sumer, must have been very slow in its extension. The older and firmer soil seems to have been occupied by a Semitic race and, although the Sumerians were naturally brought under strong Semitic influence, they were not Semites. Nor were they 'Aryans' from the north, for in ethnic type and language they were quite distinct.⁽¹⁴⁾ There is, we are also told, 'no trace of any round headed element of the Hittite type nor of a Mongolian type,' and 'one can still trace the ancient Sumerian face eastward among the inhabitants of Afghanistan and Baluchistan until the Valley of the Indus is reached—some 1,500 miles distant from Mesopotamia.'⁽¹⁵⁾ Again, in continuation of the foregoing racial clue, 'It is to the Dravidian ethnic type of India that the ancient Sumerian bears most resemblance . . . he was very like a Southern Hindu of the Dekkan who still speaks Dravidian languages.'⁽¹⁶⁾ From a close study, however, of the recently discovered mosaics I cannot but think that upon this Dravidian element in the mass of the population there was super-imposed a superior type with a long face, regular features and a prominent straight or convex nose, and that it is the original home of this type we need to find, for to its possessors the culture of the Sumerians was due. Reference has just been made to the Dravidian speaking tribes of the Dekkan : they are various, but chief among them are the Ghonds and the Koles. They originally inhabited the N.W. Province of India, but owing to the pressure of nomad invaders (the Aryans, for instance, about 2000 B.C.) were driven southward. In connection with their primitive religious worship they hold dances which centre around a national Ghond epic 'The Song of Lingal.'⁽¹⁷⁾

(13) C. L. Woolley, *The Sumerians*, p. 2, ff.

(14) H. R. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 173.

(15) Sir A. Keith, *Al-Ubaid*, pp. 116, 216.

(16) H. R. Hall, *Near East*, p. 173.

(17) cf. Stephen Hialop *Papers relating to the aboriginal tribes of Central India*, 1866 (B.M. 10057.oe.4). Also J. F. Hewitt, *The ruling Races of prehistoric times*, 1894.

For these dances they use a musical bow derived from the hunter's bow and called *Pinga* to which is attached a sounding-gourd to increase the resonance. This is the recognised origin of the bow-shaped harp which we are considering, and the epic, in its first and oldest canto, tells how a certain hero, named Lingal, who came to the Ghonds and taught them agriculture and how to make fire, constructed from a bamboo stick, inserted in a gourd, and a string of two twisted hairs a musical instrument (*jantur*) with which he brought peace and unity to the people amongst whom he lived. He made, moreover, eleven sounds (*naddang*) to his instrument, and it is evident from the action of the story that it was not the first occasion upon which Lingal had found the power of music to soothe the savage breast.⁽¹⁸⁾ To reach this early home of the Dravidians, Lingal must have come as their instructor and leader from the north, through one of those passes between the western end of the Himalayas which have, throughout the ages, proved the gateway to North-Western India. Whence did he bring his knowledge of music and his instrument? We go again to Central India and there we find two once-majestic ruins—the topes, with their rails, at Sanchi and Amravati—the one dating from about 250 B.C. and the other about 200 A.D. They are buildings connected with the Buddhist religion and in their carvings are frequent representations of the bow-shaped harp, some with eleven strings (pl. II, 1).⁽¹⁹⁾ But these sculptures and carvings are not in the style and art of India. Hsüan-tsang, who was travelling in Central Asia and India in the earlier part of the seventh century of our era, saw them, and described them as 'ornamented with all the art of the Palaces of Bactria,' and an authority of our own time has confirmed this statement.⁽²⁰⁾ Moreover, the bow-shaped harp is not a musical instrument of India: Hindustani music has no knowledge of it and it is stated that even Sanskrit treatises have no description of it; if they had, it would probably be classed, like other foreign stringed instruments, as a *Vina*, which it certainly is not.

It is then to Bactria and Eastern Iran that we must look for the home, first of all, of this harp, and although, owing to the desiccation of Central Asia in more modern times, the cities of olden days are now buried beneath the sand and once fertile valleys waterless, yet on the sculptured stones of Eastern Turkestan⁽²¹⁾ we find

(18) His personality was afterwards merged in that of the celestial musician Nārada (cf. A. H. Fox Strangways *Music of Hindostan*, 1914).

(19) Sculptures from the Amravati Tope, Brit. Museum.

(20) James Ferguson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 1873.

(21) Albert Gruenwedel, *Alt-buddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan*, 1912.

representations of this type of harp and also that, by its passage through Southern Tibet, it is still in use in Northern Burmah (pl. II, 3): nay more, from its home in Turkestan it spread northward to the Ugrian Ostyaks who added to it a front pillar (pl. II, 13, 14). And who in those far off days lived in this part of the world? I quote Professor Langdon's conclusions:⁽²²⁾ 'All evidence suggests that a dolichocephalic race speaking agglutinative languages descended upon Iran, Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf, probably from their fertile plains of Central Asia, before 5,000 B.C.' This would account for the construction of the Sumerian language, which much resembles agglutinative Turkish:⁽²³⁾ and if we class this race under such a general heading as that called the *Irano-Mediterranean* (a stock with which, it is said, the Dravidians themselves were originally associated) it gives us a dolichocephalic or narrow-headed people, with the long face, regular features, light tawny skin, black wavy hair⁽²⁴⁾ and prominent nose of the aristocratic Sumerian. At Astrabad in Turkestan undoubtedly Sumerian treasure has been found, and I cannot but conclude that the story of the coming of Lingal with his knowledge of agriculture, fire (the Sumerians were workers in copper) and music, was an attempt to visualise the dim tradition of the arrival of the Sumerians from Eastern Iran into the Valley of the Indus.⁽²⁵⁾ How long the newcomers stayed in these more pleasant surroundings we cannot say: in the Punjab and in Sind they have left traces of their art in the engraved figures of bulls and other animals, but not of their later written language (a form of cuneiform derived, it is supposed, from Syria). Probably the pressure of fresh adventurers from the north caused them to come southward down the Indus Valley, sowing their grain with their pupils' help and grazing their cattle, until they found an outlet westward, either along the lowlands of Baluchistan and Southern Persia—to use modern geographical terms—or possibly by coasting along those shores till

(22) *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, 1924.

(23) The cradle of the Turki race immediately bordered on this central plain. They had a broad high head and there are some traces among the Sumerians of their features, due probably to intermarriage.

(24) The Sumerians were called 'black heads' and their long wavy hair was tied up at the back of the head in a small knob, as shown on the golden helmet of Prince Mes-Kalam-Dug found at Ur. The face was usually clean shaven, but beards were also worn: at other times the whole head was shaven and, unlike the Egyptian custom, not covered with a wig. The Mediterranean race spread as far as the British Isles.

(25) I should like to see in the name *Lingal* the Sumerian word *Lugal*, 'great man,' and I believe philological laws are not against it. cf. Hind. *linga*, *lungara*, *lugra*, words of a cognate meaning. In later times the name was linked with the procreative Linga worship so common in India: but the first canto of the old epic plainly rebuts such an association. The title, *Lugal*, was adopted by several of the early Sumerian rulers in the sense of 'King.'

they reached the head of the Persian Gulf.⁽²⁶⁾ With them no doubt went the harp and Dravidians.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE HARP.

We have already observed that the bow-shaped instrument found at Ur is distinctly more elaborate and decorative than the simpler forms of the homeland; it is evidently due to the applied skill and experience of the men of Sumer. For instance, it will be noticed that, compared with the Bactrian harp illustrated in pl. II, 1, the neck is more upright, thus permitting the use of shorter strings for the higher notes of the scale; it is fitted with pins or pegs at the side; the neck is tenoned into the body and the whole highly ornamented. Such an advance was not achieved in a moment and the instrument, as brought by the Sumerian settlers, must have been a much less developed form. Apparently we have proof of this and that the harp, when its possessors first reached the Sea Land, had but few strings. For research has shown that many of the Sumerians passed on southward and, finding their way through Arabia,⁽²⁷⁾ probably by the Al-Batin and Darvasir Valleys, then amply supplied with water, to the southern end of the Red Sea, they crossed over the narrow outlet and reached what was afterwards known as Upper or Southern Egypt. For here we find, pictured on tomb and temple walls or preserved in ancient graves, examples of this smaller bow-shaped harp (pl. II, 4, 6). It will be noticed that the shape of the earlier one is much nearer to that of the hunting bow, though it has the raised sound-box, and that, on both of them, the pins or pegs are at the back instead of at the side. It is now beyond doubt that the predynastic Egyptians were indebted to the Sumerian civilisation for their knowledge of art and handicraft. The Egyptian tradition that Southern Arabia, 'The Holy Land,' as they called it, was not only the abode of the gods but the source of their racial

(26) There was a very old tradition recorded by Berosus, a Babylonian priest c. 275 B.C., that the arts of civilisation were brought to Southern Mesopotamia by a man-fish, Oannes or Ea, who swam up the Persian Gulf. This, however, need not imply that the Sumerians came by sea; for to the scared inhabitants of the delta the arrival of invaders via the lowlands of the coast, instead of through the mountain passes of the hinterland, would suggest their coming 'out of the sea.'

(27) Recent excavations in the great Necropolis of the Island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf, off the coast of Arabia and about 400 miles south of Sumer, have revealed pottery and portion of a carved bull with Sumerian characteristics. A traveller in Southern Arabia met a desert tribe, the Al Murra, and says of them: 'The type of face reminded me of features to be seen on early Sumerian sculptures . . . they had the natural good manners associated with old races.' Major R. E. Chessman, *In Unknown Arabia*, 1926. I have not observed any trace of the bow-shaped harp in Arabia, but its derivative, the *Junk*, is there.

progress, enshrines this truth⁽²⁸⁾ and, quite recently, it has been discovered that the Badari of Upper Egypt, the oldest agriculturalists of the Nile Valley, not only had affinities with the Dravidians of India but knew also the use of copper, as the Sumerians did, though the prehistoric Egyptians did not. In the twelfth dynasty which began about the year 2,600 B.C. we observe a remarkable elaboration of the simpler instrument; it is still bow-shaped without a front pillar, but placed on a stand or on the ground when in use (pl. II, 5). This development reached its highest pitch in the great harps of Thebes with their elegant form and numerous strings. Yet the simple bow-shaped instrument remains still in the southern part of the Nile Valley, for in the five-stringed *Nanga* of Nubia we have its counterpart. Carried by Phœnician traders to the shores of Greece and Italy it appeared as the *nabla* or *nablium*⁽²⁹⁾ (pl. II, 2). More interesting, however, is the fact that it has travelled westward across Africa, borne thither by Nilotic tribes under the pressure of invasion and consequent migration. In the more distant provinces such as Adamaua and the Kamerun, we notice it with 6-10 strings and in construction more like the earlier type (pl. II, 7). In the harp of the Fan tribe (pl. II, 8) there is a peculiar extension of the body: to it is now braced the curved neck, but it appears to be a relic of the time when the harp was played with the neck resting against the shoulder as in the Sumerian harp; the present African method of holding the ordinary bow-shaped harp is with the neck forward and away from the player as in the Bactrian harp. For the *Kundi* or harp of Uganda the shell of a tortoise is generally used or its representation in wood and a similar oval formed body has been observed in old Egyptian examples, but in all specimens of the modern African harp the tuning pegs are inserted into the side of the neck: these side pegs—reminiscent again of the Land of Sumer—mark it off from the ordinary stringed instruments of Africa, such as the popular Semitic lyre known as the *Kissar*, which is gradually driving out the

(28) In the representation of the famous fleet of Queen Hatshepsut (c. 1492 B.C.), figured on the walls of the temple at Dér el Bahri in Western Thebes, one of the ships has a bow-shaped harp with three strings slung on the cordage of the mainmast. As this voyage to the Holy Land and to Punt was undertaken for peaceful intercourse and trade, the harp may have been hoisted as a signal of friendship and affinity. For illustrations see A. Duemichen *The Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 1868. For the fuller development of the Egyptian harp see Sir J. G. Wilkinson *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1837-41.

(29) The Hebrew *nabbel*, mistranslated in the English Bible 'psaltery' and 'viol,' and in the Prayer Book 'lute.' The first meaning of the word is a bottle, flask or basin, and it was applied to the bow-shaped harp owing to its basin-like sound-box.

old harp; for those are without tuning pegs except in cases where Turkish or Moorish instruments have established themselves.⁽³⁰⁾

As I have mentioned the bow-shaped harp of Uganda, I will draw attention to a barbarous practice which was in vogue amongst the Baganda (as the people of Uganda are called) and had its counterpart also amongst the Sumerians. For the valuable and prolific discoveries at Ur are due to a burial cult which happily died out amongst civilised races long ages ago. It was, however, the custom in the land of Sumer, upon the death of a King or Queen, to gather the servants of the royal household, guards, horsemen, dancing girls, even members of the harem, and to slay them in the open space outside the royal tomb. The bodies were then laid around in order with their weapons, carts drawn by asses or oxen (for the horse was unknown), instruments of music and beautiful apparel, in order that they might minister to the needs of their deceased master or mistress in the shadowy and mysterious Beyond. I quote now from a description of the old burial customs in Uganda, performed only on the death of a King or Queen:⁽³¹⁾ 'When the hood (over the entrance of the tomb) was let down to close it, the wives of the late King who had been bound were placed at intervals round the tomb from the left of the doorway onwards and were clubbed to death: the men mentioned above (viz., the chief cook, the chief brewer, the chief herdsman, the keeper of the King's well and the chief in charge of the sacred fire) were clubbed to death on the right side of the door; these and hundreds more were killed and sent to attend upon the King, who was supposed to need them in the other world. None of their bodies were buried, but they were left where they fell around the tomb.' And another point of similarity: amongst this African tribe (the Baganda) there is a system of clans dating from an unknown antiquity; one clan, claiming as their forefather the first King's great friend who came to Uganda with him, is of lighter build than the rest and its members have fine Roman features. This clan

⁽³⁰⁾ As is well known, the musical bow, that is, the bow-shaped harp in its first and simplest form, is in common use throughout the whole of Southern Africa below the Equator; in Northern Africa it is unknown, and between the two the bow-shaped harp in its developed form is found in a well-defined but narrow streak of country from east to west. Owing to its peculiar exclusiveness and manifest superiority over the primitive form I do not consider that it is indebted for its existence in Africa to the musical bow of the South. It is gradually disappearing under pressure from the east: in Uganda the *Busoga* lyre (the *Kissar*) is occupying the ground. It appears as though the use of the archer's bow as a musical instrument is common to man whether in Africa, Asia or elsewhere; but the harp cannot be classed among the primitives. The musical bow of South Africa seems to have had its own line of development through the *Wambee* or *Volga* to the *Bandju* or African psaltery, and they are all destitute of tuning pegs. The triangular Kru harp, so popular around Sierra Leone, evidently owes its origin to the outside influence of another continent.

⁽³¹⁾ John Roscoe, *The Baganda*, 1911, pp. 107 ff., p. 157.

supplies the judge of the King's Court, who acts as his representative when absent from the capital. Could that forefather have had Sumerian blood⁽³²⁾ as well as features? At any rate, it was the degenerate strife of the clan system which laid the older nation at the mercy of its enemies and, towards the close of the third millennium B.C., proved its downfall.

4. THE DERIVATIVES OF THE BOW-SHAPED HARP.

The story is soon told: we have already referred to the appearance of the type in Greece and Italy. According to classical writers it possessed from ten to twelve strings and an instrument described by Athenæus bore a painting on its body of the lotus flower of Egypt. The specimen figured in the fresco at Pompeii (pl. II, 2) has, however, only five strings and small tuning pegs.

But another Oriental form was to arise from this earlier harp and it has been aptly called the angle-shaped or angle harp.⁽³³⁾ It was apparently first brought into general use by the Assyrians, a non-Semitic race emanating, it is now thought, from Upper Syria.⁽³⁴⁾ Instead of a curved neck this harp has a wooden or metal rod placed at a right angle or even less to the body (pl. II, 9, 10). On the fine instruments of the court musicians, so well depicted in the bas-reliefs of the great Assyrian Empire (950-659 B.C.), there are no tuning pegs, but the instrument was tuned either by hand tension over guiding pins, or by raising or lowering the attachment of the string on the rod;⁽³⁵⁾ like the Burmese *Saun*, too, they show the tasselled ends of the strings hanging downwards from their fastenings. There are two markedly different types of the angle-harp: a smaller instrument (pl. II, 9) with the end of the sound-box supported beneath the left arm, as the Bactrian harp, and played like it with a large plectrum held in the right hand. The upright rod or bar stands away from the performer and the whole instrument is kept in place by a strap over his shoulder.⁽³⁶⁾ In the larger form (pl. II, 10) the body is held, not horizontally, but upwards in an almost vertical

(32) From the East African archaeological expedition we are learning that the earliest inhabitants of the district around the great lakes had Asiatic characteristics and not those of the present day African.

(33) C. Sachs, *Real Lexikon*, 'Winkeltypus,' s.v. Harfe.

(34) Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, 1928.

(35) The little circles on the edge of the body are probably the heads of pins fixing the skin 'table' lap to the wooden frame of the harp, and certainly not tuning pegs, as they are much more in number than the strings. They may be, however, simply ornamental.

(36) This smaller instrument is probably the *sabka* or *sabeca* of Daniel, ch. III, 5, so misrendered 'sackbut' in our English Version. From it was derived the popular *Trigon* of classical times.

position with the bar below; in playing it both hands are employed as on the smaller harp, but there is no plectrum. This curious method of carrying the instrument may have been found convenient for processional use, but it is exactly opposite to the way in which the large Egyptian harp was held, for there the bar or neck was always uppermost (pl. II, 5). So conspicuous is this peculiarity that the 'Assyrian' large harp is easily recognisable in widely distant areas. It appears in Egypt shortly before or in the early part of the first millennium B.C., as may be seen in a primitive wooden statuette preserved in the British Museum,⁽³⁷⁾ where it has six strings and guiding pins on the lower bar, or in a more elaborate specimen with twenty-one strings and guiding pins, now in the Louvre at Paris.⁽³⁸⁾ It has been observed in Asia Minor and in Greek art connected therewith in the fifth century B.C.;⁽³⁹⁾ it is found in the rock sculptures of Persia in the sixth century A.D.;⁽⁴⁰⁾ in Northern China, where in the seventh century A.D. it was considered a barbaric instrument and not to be cultivated;⁽⁴¹⁾ in Korea as the *Shiragi-Koto*;⁽⁴²⁾ it is seen in the hands of a Moorish girl in a Seville MS. of the thirteenth century;⁽⁴³⁾ and in the representation of a Turkish lady dated 1588, by Melchior Lorich.⁽⁴⁴⁾ It still has a precarious existence in the Arab *Junk*, a corruption of the old Persian name *Chank*.

I do not, however, consider that we are indebted to this larger angle-harp for the graceful shape of our own Northern or Scandinavian harp, because it is evident that the latter was evolved from an instrument which was held with the body or sound-box downward; and we seem to have, at last, a positive link between it and the older bow-shaped type in the harps of the Ostyak tribes of Western Siberia

(37) J. Stainer, *Music of the Bible*. Ed., 1914, plate 5. I have there suggested that the Hebrew *nebel-azor* is a dialectical variant of *nebel-ashor* the 'Assyrian' harp.

(38) C. Engel, *Music of the most Ancient Nations*, p. 193. Surely this harp, so frequently illustrated, is always shown upside down; the tassels of the strings should hang away from the bar and not lie over the instrument.

(39) Vase, 805, Munich Museum: see Victoria and Albert Museum Handbook.

(40) Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c.*, 1824.

(41) Illustrations occur in and from the earlier centuries of our era: this is from *Ch'en shih yo shu* in the Cambridge University Library, by the courtesy of the Rev. A. C. Moule; see also *The New China Review*, Hong Kong, 1919. The illustration on pl. II, 15, is of a curious instrument, in the Brussels Conservatoire of Music Museum, described as Chinese (Cat. Vol. I, p. 141). This can hardly be correct and M. Ernest Cloeson, the curator, agrees that it may be from Cambodia or Assam. It appears to be due to a policy of despair, as the curved neck of the bow-shaped harp is bent so far forward that the strings cannot be tuned without the help of a supporting rod.

(42) F. T. Pigott, *The Music and Musical Instruments of Japan*, 1893.

(43) Escorial Library, Madrid: cf. J. F. Riaño, *Notes on Early Spanish Music*, 1887.

(44) C. Engel, Cat. S. Kensington Museum, 1873.

(pl. II, 18, 14). I have already alluded to the source from which it is probable that they received their harp; apparently it came to them without a front pillar or support, for we are assured that the instrument is complete without it,⁽⁴⁵⁾ and the small specimen (pl. II, 14), now in the Asiatic Ethnographical Collection at the British Museum, bears out this statement; for the front support has been 'sprung in' as an afterthought and thus prevents the employment of the longest string. The Finns, racially connected with the Ostyaks and coming from Western Siberia into Europe in the seventh century of our era, brought this harp with them; it is stated that the last harper, who did not use the front pillar, died in Estonia about a century ago.⁽⁴⁶⁾ It is to this migration, I believe, we owe the Northern type with its fore pillar;⁽⁴⁷⁾ like the Sumerian harp it is the offspring of the bow-shaped instruments of Bactria and Iran and, permeating the whole of Europe during the past thousand years, holds an honoured place in the finest orchestras of to-day.

F. W. GALPIN.

To the further study of the history of the Near East as revealed by most recent discoveries the following books are especially valuable and well illustrated:—

H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East* (Methuen) 7th Ed. with addenda, 1927: 21s.

Sidney Smith, *The Early History of Assyria* (Chatto, Windus), 1928: 37s. 6d.

V. Gordon Childe, *The Most Ancient East* (Kegan Paul), 1928: 15s.

C. L. Woolley, *The Sumerians* (Oxford University Press), 1928: 6s. (A most interesting review of this special subject and the latest issued.)

As this paper goes to press another 'harp' has been reported 'with a particularly fine calf's head, modelled in copper, and a panel of mosaic work with human figures in shell set against a background of lapis lazuli, as on the wonderful harp found last year. . . . We have practically finished our work in this part of the city.' C. L. Woolley, *The Times*, February 26, 1929. Since this form of Sumerian decoration is common both to lyre and harp, there is nothing in the brief description to show the actual type of instrument. It was probably a lyre.—F. W. G.

(45) C. Sachs, *Real Lexikon*, s.v. *Shotang*. Illustration (pl. II, 13) of instrument in Hamburg Museum für Volkerkunde, from C. Sachs *Handbuch der Musikinstrumentenkunde*, 1920.

(46) C. Engel, *Music of the Most Ancient Nations*, p. 34.

(47) For the subsequent development of the northern or European harp see H. Panum, *Harp and Lyre in Northern Europe*, International Musical Society Quarterly Magazine, Year VII, pt.1, 1908, and F. W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, 1911. It must be remembered that the first three illustrations in Panum's paper are dated too early: Gerbert's harp is from a drawing in a MS. of the 12th or 13th century; the MS. Vespasian (Brit. Mus.) harp is on an inserted page of the 13th century; the 'Reliquary of St. Mogue's' harp is on the outer case made in the 11th century.

THE MYSTERY OF THE SIBYL CASSANDRA

'If I live to be as old as Sibylla, I will die as chaste as Diana, unless I be obtained by the manner of my father's will.'

—*Merchant of Venice*.

On Christmas Eve, in the cathedral of Palma in Mallorca, a curious ceremony takes place. A choir-boy, dressed in a long pink robe and pink cap, and holding a great sword point upwards in front of him, appears in the pulpit and sings a prophecy of the Day of Judgment. The words are in the vernacular, Catalan; the music is in plain-song and resembles a highly ornate form of Sequence, the nearest thing to it being the music sung by the Virgin Mary in 'The Mystery of Elche.' That mystery, dating from the thirteenth or fifteenth century and still sung every year in Elche cathedral on the 14th and 15th August, was described in the second number of *MUSIC AND LETTERS* (April, 1920). The boy who appears in the pulpit at Palma is the Erythraean Sibyl, sole surviving actor in another mystery play which was once widespread in Spain and other countries.

Though the play has disappeared, the Sibyl still sings her prophecy at Palma, and at certain other places in Mallorca besides. She is said still to appear in the parish church of Manacor; while a simpler, less ornamented version of her song was discovered in 1908 in MS. in a convent at Palma, and this version (or one very like it) was heard in the same year in the parish church at Marratxi.⁽¹⁾ Another version, resembling this was heard in 1888 at Alghero in Sardinia,⁽²⁾ an ancient Catalan colony, where a Catalan dialect is still spoken instead of the curious and archaic dialect of Italian heard in other parts of the island. Yet another version, practically identical with this, is given in the *Ordinarium* of Urgell (Pyrenees) printed in 1548.⁽³⁾

Altogether, seven versions of the song are known. Pedrell printed one of the more decorated forms and two of the simpler kind; in *The Music of Spanish History* (Oxford, 1926) I gave two other forms of the decorated version, and compared them with the simpler versions from Marratxi in Mallorca and Alghero in Sardinia. If all the seven versions are written out, one above the other, at the same pitch, it becomes apparent that the melody is really the same; the traditional

(1) Pedrell, *Cancionero musical*, vol. i, p. 94, example 129 (1918).

(2) *Rivista musicale italiana*, vol. xxix, p. 279 (1922).

(3) Pedrell, *op. cit.*, p. 95, ex. 130.

form heard every Christmas at Palma is a profusely ornamented version of a variant of the original, as 'noted' in the *Ordinarium* of Urgell in 1548. The same, it may be remembered, was found to be the case with the song of the Virgin in 'The Mystery of Elche.' The traditional form, when written out above the simpler form noted in 1639, was seen to be nothing more than a highly ornamented version of the latter; it contains nothing that is not a legitimate development, and there was no necessity to look for its origin in a foreign Liturgy (Mozarabic or Eastern) as Pedrell had done. The same can be shown by taking three representative versions of the Song of the Sibyl, and writing them out together at the same pitch. The first line is as follows:—

Palma, 1922.

Lo jorn del ju -

Alghero, 1888.

El jorn del ju -

Urgell, 1548.

-di - - - ci

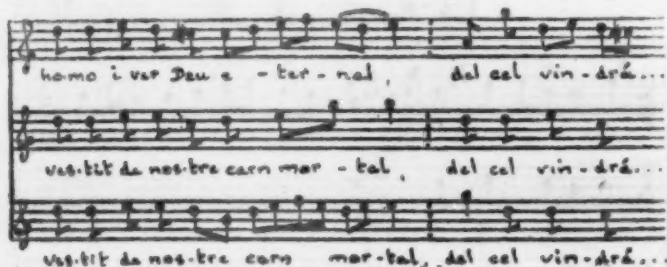
-di - - - ci

The musical notation consists of three staves for the first line, each with a G-clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first staff (Palma, 1922) has a melody with many grace notes and ornaments. The second staff (Alghero, 1888) is a simpler version. The third staff (Urgell, 1548) is the simplest, with few notes. Below these are three more staves showing the continuation of the melody, with lyrics '-di' and 'ci'.

It will be noticed that the Urgell version (according to Pedrell) begins rhythmically, but it does not continue in the same way. The Palma version was obtained for me in 1922, by a correspondent who was allowed to copy what purported to be the actual MS. of the Sibyl's Song from which the choir-boy had been taught. It was a modern MS., in minims and crotchets; and the copy of it which my correspondent so obligingly made for me differs in no important respect from the version printed by Pedrell (Example 128) or in *The Music of Spanish History* (Example 25, a and b), except that, like the three older versions, it descends to the final instead of ascending to it. The grace-notes in

the second line do not occur in the 'official' version taught in the cathedral, nor in the version printed by Pedrell; but they are given in a traditional version published near the end of the nineteenth century by B. Torres.⁽⁴⁾ I have inserted the grace notes not so much on his authority as because a similar decoration occurs in the song of the Virgin in 'The Mystery of Elche,' and more frequently still, in the music sung by the Angel when he comes down from heaven in a golden swing, to convey first the soul and then the body of the Blessed Virgin into Paradise. It was sung on those evenings by street boys all over Elche, and must be a phrase that is peculiarly gratifying for an orientalised Mediterranean throat to sing.

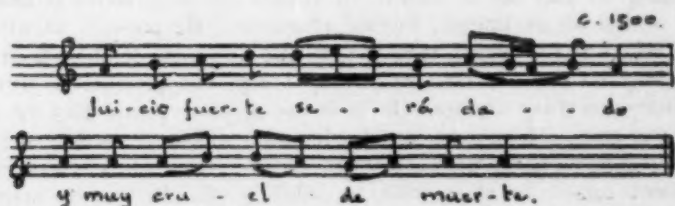
The more decorated versions, then, of the Song of the Sibyl are not earlier than the simpler ones, as has been supposed, though they have certainly been influenced by primitive, 'oriental' ways of singing. If further proof were needed, there is an upward leap of a minor seventh, which occurs deliberately in every stanza, and not merely to express the words 'from heaven' *del cel*, although the traditional version from which the grace-notes were supplied in the last example, gives in this case an ascending scale between the A and the G.



In Palma, the Sibyl had been singing for several centuries before 1572, for in that year the performance was forbidden by the bishop, only to be restored by his successor in 1575. Another attempt at suppression was made in 1666, but this also failed. The Sibylline prophecy is already 'noted' (as was said above) in the *Ordinarium* of Urgell printed in 1548; it was also regularly sung at Toledo, while between each verse choir-boys danced a sword-dance and the choir sang a solemn refrain in four-part harmony, to the effect that judgment would be delivered and that the penalty would be death. The music

(4) *Album Musical de Compositores Mallorquines* (Madrid, n.d.).

to this refrain I found in one of the immense illuminated choir-books (No. 21) in the Chapter Library at Toledo, between two compositions by Morales; it also occurs in a MS. of about 1500 in the Royal Library at Madrid (for 3 voices),⁽⁵⁾ and I found it again in a MS. in the Columbus Library at Seville (for both 3 and 4 voices), on pages 88 and 105 of the collection of late fifteenth century songs known as 'Cantinelas Vulgares.' The Madrid version of the melody is as follows:—



The origins of the play in which Sibyls appear prophesying the birth of Christ have been traced back to the eleventh century by Miss G. G. King,⁽⁶⁾ who explains how Cassandra, the prophetess of Troy, came to be numbered with the other Sibyls. (She is called a Sibyl by Chaucer, when he says that Troilus 'for Sibille his suster sente That called was Cassandre.') Cassandra, however, does not appear among the portraits of the Sibyls either on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel or on the pavement of the cathedral at Siena. Students of plain-song and mediæval music will remember the references to her in the *Dies Ira* and the 'Christmas Sequence' *Latabundus*:

Yf they 'lieve not her prophetys,
Then let them 'lieve heathen metrys
In Sibyllins versiculys
Hæc predicta.

while a fifteenth century poet applies the word Sibyl to the Madonna herself:—

Thou art our Sibill, Cristie modir deir.

Here I propose to catch the play at one single moment of its history: the moment at which it came out of church and was performed for

(5) Barbieri, *Cancionero musical* (1890), No. 243, and appendix, p. 610.

(6) *The Play of the Sibyl Cassandra*. (Bryn Mawr Notes and Monographs, II.) Longmans, 1921.

the first time not as a liturgical drama, but as a dramatic eclogue represented before Queen Eleanor of Portugal, about 1513. It was a most fortunate moment, for the play fell into the hands of one of the greatest lyric poets that the Peninsula has ever produced, Gil Vicente (1465-1596?); and his poetic drama is so vivid that I seem to see it on the stage and to see also how a modern audience would be held by the character of the chief personage and the tragedy of her presumption and disillusion.

We must forget all about the Sibyl—at any rate to begin with. In bringing the play out of church, Gil Vicente has (so it seems at first) left behind all its liturgic, hieratic character. He presents us with any village at any period, then or now, and with some of the ordinary everyday men and women which any village can provide, in their ordinary everyday clothes. It is in no sense a period play or a costume play. There is no scenery; the stage directions mention only a pair of curtains at the back which can be drawn apart when the moment comes, to show what is called by the Portuguese stage directions—for though the play is in Spanish, the stage directions are in Portuguese—the 'whole apparatus of the Nativity.'

A country girl comes in, the daughter of a well-to-do farmer, perhaps; and this is the dialogue that ensues, translated as literally as may be into modern English, though in one or two places the very simplicity of the original makes the meaning ambiguous. Those who have read the play in the exquisite verse of the original may be horrified. Yet exquisite as Gil Vicente's verse is, it is never 'pretty-pretty'; the expression is direct, even and pungent, as it often is in early mystery plays.

CASSANDRA: Never! No one shall! Pushing and persisting in a marriage with me! 'fore God, I declare I will not marry. There's no bumpkin born, surely, that's good enough for me? Is there anyone in the world like me, in mind or body?

And what woman of sense would risk it! Marry, and lose her liberty, and go on being the loser ever after; away from home, in strange hands, always in trouble, crushed, subjugated! And yet they think that getting married is a handsome present!

Here there enters a rather ridiculous young man, in his best village clothes—the would-be bridegroom, a definitely comic character.

'Cassandra!' (we start slightly at the name; but the owner of it seems so aloof, so cool, so modern and so different from the young man in every way, body and mind, that the name seems to be merely a good piece of characterisation.)

THE YOUNG MAN: Cassandra! God be with you—and with me too, if you're glad to see me. How sweet you look this morning! Our wedding shall not be kept waiting on my account. Well (*aside*) as I'm here, I had better say why I've come. You see (*to Cassandra*) I am so . . . so conquered—by you—that . . . I think it will happen after all.

CASSANDRA: I don't understand you.

THE YOUNG MAN: Come now, it's all for your good. Your aunts have sent for you; and three days from now—joy! . . . for me and for you.

CASSANDRA: Why do they want me?

THE YOUNG MAN: They want you to see me, to believe in me, and then . . . to marry me.

CASSANDRA: All I can say is that they, or you, are raving.

THE YOUNG MAN: But why? Are we too near relations? Can't you see that I'm a man who's worth something? If you won't, I swear, on my honour, I don't care what happens. I am well-connected, well provided for; a stout lad, cultured . . . and (*aside*) to tell the truth, I am rather embarrassed to be here at all. Come! (*to Cassandra*) You will marry me, won't you?

CASSANDRA: The truth is, you are beside yourself. What I've told you already—that's what will happen; till death do us part.

THE YOUNG MAN: But don't you see me?

CASSANDRA: I can see you perfectly.

THE YOUNG MAN: I can't believe it. Don't you love me?

CASSANDRA: I don't love you.

THE YOUNG MAN: But I want you to marry me!

CASSANDRA: I have told you already what my wishes are.

THE YOUNG MAN: What do you say?

CASSANDRA: I tell you that with me there can be no talk of marriage. I don't want it and won't have it, either with you or with anyone else.

THE YOUNG MAN: But think what that means!

CASSANDRA: Must I stay while you talk nonsense? I'll not make myself a slave; I was born a free woman.

THE YOUNG MAN: But your aunt spoke to me herself, and promised a good old-fashioned wedding.

CASSANDRA: I think differently.

THE YOUNG MAN: Well, I think that I deserve you, and that's what I came to say.

CASSANDRA: Good.

THE YOUNG MAN: But this 'not loving' of yours? It seems to me that you must be in love with someone else.

CASSANDRA: Nonsense! I will neither be courted nor married. But I won't be a nun, or a holy hermit either.

THE YOUNG MAN: Tell me what's the matter. This display of temper doesn't suit you. Talk it over with me, or with yourself, when you are not so passionate. See what you want, and what reasons you have.

CASSANDRA: Oh, don't waste time with me! I have told you already what my intentions are.

THE YOUNG MAN: Who put it into your head to be my enemy? And to know the reason why, too!

CASSANDRA: There, there; don't be angry or fly into a rage with

me! I don't despise you. My opinions were born with me, and I have never lost them.

THE YOUNG MAN: But what do you know about matrimony? Is it a punishment, that they inflict on criminals?

Cassandra knows more about matrimony than the young man imagined; and she tells him straight out, without mincing matters. 'I shouldn't deserve to be alive,' (she says at last) 'if I consented to such a thing as that! Woe to the girlhood that's emptied into such hands!'

THE YOUNG MAN: But I'm not one of those, nor ever will be; I swear it. Our life together shall be a path of primroses.

CASSANDRA: Primroses! Do you imagine that you can deceive me with primroses? I'll not see myself lost, jealous, shut up and guarded. Not much! A little thing, you think? I'd rather never have been born . . . Jealousy (*aside*). That's the worst of all, an evil that can't be avoided! It turns a light breeze into a raging sea, declares that white is black, makes good women into bad with tale-telling, turns saints into sinners . . . As to passion, I say nothing; I can do without it.

THE YOUNG MAN (*sententiously, with recollections of 'The wisdom of Solomon'*): Where wisdom is, there is no jealousy. Wisdom is the giver of all good gifts.

CASSANDRA: Wisdom would keep out of the way.

THE YOUNG MAN: 'Sh! You're jealous without knowing it.

CASSANDRA (*pursuing her thought at the point at which it had been interrupted*) . . . And beyond that, labour and sorrow, child-birth, children crying . . . No! I won't discuss it, however much you are in love with me.

THE YOUNG MAN: Well! I shall go down to the village, and call Erythræ, and your aunt Persica, and old Cimmeria too, and we shall see if you persist before them.

He goes out, and we are left gasping at the names. Erythræ? Aunt Persica? But meanwhile Cassandra is speaking, and holds our attention completely.

CASSANDRA: And I, what shall I have? Who is he that shall marry me against my will? If I do not want to marry, who is to compel me?

Here she sings a song which is regarded by common consent as one of the gems of Spanish poetry, a song which combines the artlessness of a nursery-rhyme with the profundity of a proverb. No translation can do it justice; and the best that has been made so far—that by Mr. A. F. G. Bell—cannot be used on this occasion because it disregards the musical form. The stanza, or rather, the rhyme-pattern, is Arabic; but it is one which was invented in Spain, and used extensively by the Spanish poets who wrote in Arabic.

Air: No ha ventura.

Aran. (c. 1600).

Di - cen que mis ca - - - se
go. No quie-ro ma - ri - da go. FIN.
Más quie-ro vi - vir se - gu - - ra... D.C.
Si ca - sa - ré bien a no.

Tell me, must I married be?
There shall no man marry me!

I would live where lovers are not;
Far from men, I'm free and fear not.
Maiden all forlorn, I care not
How well married I might be.
Tell me . . .

Mother, may I never marry!
Wed a man, and always weary!
And, maybe, I lose right early
All the grace God gave to me.
Tell me . . .

No one in the world shall wed me!
No man born shall ever bed me!
Thus my soul long since hath led me:
Flower of all, I mean to be.
Tell me . . .

Now there enter the three old women whom we have heard called by the Sibylline names of Erythræ, Persica and Cimmeria. The stage directions of the original expressly state that they are dressed like countrywomen; they carry no 'attributes'—nothing to make us think that they are different in any way from any old women in any

village, then or now. If they are really Sibyls—and old women in villages are proverbially wise—they will talk like Sibyls, and their dual personalities will gradually be revealed by their language—if they show anything approaching second sight or prophecy. Meanwhile they are laughing; they come on *em chacota*, that is, in a dance-formation, the *chacota* being a noisy dance with singing, frequently referred to by Gil Vicente.

The three old women with the Sibylline names enter, then, in dance formation with the young man, and Cimmeria, the eldest, says to Cassandra:

CIMMERIA: Well, how do you like him?

CASSANDRA: Neither one way nor the other. I won't marry him, that's all. Who told you—all of you—that I was going to be married?

CIMMERIA: Your mother did, in her will . . . No! It's the truth I'm telling you! She ordered you to marry, and a good thing too.

CASSANDRA (*dreamily*): I have ordained another marriage in my heart. To this one (*with decision*) I will never consent.

THE YOUNG MAN: What a mad idea! I am amazed. Where did she get such a notion?

Cassandra answers him very quietly, but with intense conviction—a sudden revelation to the audience that she is something more than a mere country girl; one, at any rate, who has seen visions and 'heard voices.' It helps to explain the words she has just used in the last verse of her song.

CASSANDRA: My faith, and the imagination of my heart! And I trust to it that I am not on the wrong road. I would not give my honesty and my virtue, my peace of mind or my liberty, for sixty thousand millions of money.

PERSICA: But your mother did so.

CASSANDRA: Well, and what came of it?

PERSICA: Why, you did! You would never have been born otherwise.

CASSANDRA (*very quietly*): I would be chosen for another life, more perfect than this.

ERYTHRÆA (*laying her hand on Cassandra's arm*): Listen, my child: whatever it be, you cannot but marry; and you should take this man without presumption, for he is a very good man.

CASSANDRA: How 'good'?

ERYTHRÆA: He is generous and virtuous, wise and well provided for. He has lands and sheep, and they say he is a very skilful musician.

THE YOUNG MAN (*interrupting*): Yes. I have orchards and vineyards, and a thousand rose trees—all for your delight! I have farms and cottages . . . and more than thirty-two chickens.

ERYTHRÆA: My child, this young man is a prize, and he has been awarded to you.

CASSANDRA (*with impatience*): But I don't love him, and I don't want him for a husband. Oh, Lord, preserve me!

CIMMERIA: Don't you see how honourable he is, how well-mannered? More than any other.

CASSANDRA: How do I know that he will not change? How can I tell what he will do when once he sees himself married? Oh, how many pleasant young men there are, unmarried and good-natured! Yet married, they are lions and dragons; perfect fiends. If the wife is wise and hold her tongue, they say she is a fool and has lost her chance; but if once she open her mouth, the fat's in the fire. It's always the way.

THE YOUNG MAN: She is implacable. We had better say no more . . . But (*to Cassandra*) you will repent; and then, you will want when the devil does not want.

ERYTHRÆA (*aside, to him*): Perhaps she would come round more quickly if you made love to her.

THE YOUNG MAN: Will she let me? You see what answers she gives.

PERSICA: Suppose her uncles came and talked to her? They are wise in these things.

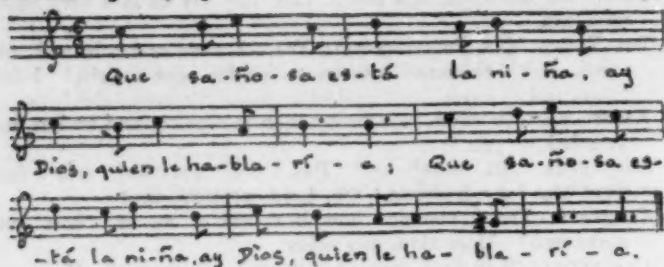
CIMMERIA: They are that, God knows; worthy, sensible men. I'm sure they will settle it between them.

THE YOUNG MAN: I will go and call them, and we shall see where this ends. But she thinks herself so precious, she may be hard to persuade.

He goes out, and the sound of a *folta* is heard: a noisy dance and singing. The Young Man returns with three old men, whom he must have found in the only place where three old men in a village are likely to be found—the village inn. They are singing (the original stage direction says), all four of them, to the tune of a *folta*; and they look and sound as if they had been sitting at the inn for a considerable time. There is nothing to suggest, at first sight, that they are prophets or patriarchs—except in their own village; indeed there is nothing about them to make the audience think that they are not merely the oldest inhabitants, whom The Young Man has found, close by, in the village inn. Yet they have queer names: Abraham, Moses and Isaiah. They are (or the first two of them at least are) decidedly merry; as the noisy dance-tune and the words show.

Folías. [Allegro]

Salinas (1577.)



Here's to a lass that's like a fury!
(Lord! Let no one say so!)

(Repeated.)

Once a maid went up a mountain
For to feed her flock so free;
Fair she was as any flower,
Now she rages like the sea.
Now she rages like the sea—the lovely maiden!
(But, hush, let no one say so!)

The singing stops, and the eldest of the three pulls himself together.

ABRAHAM: Here's a welcome to you both! And here's my wedding present. Take these two bracelets.

MOSES: And I have these rings for you. (*Aside.*) They belonged to my daughters.

ISAIAH: I have brought you this necklace.

THE YOUNG MAN (*maliciously*): I know what I have got for you, though I don't know how much you can profit by it.

ERYTHREA (*aside*): Presents often work wonders, we know.

CASSANDRA: Am I to be captured by presents? No! I am not to be deceived like that! I tell you that I have promised—to myself, alone—that I will never marry.

The village elders are staggered. 'B-B-Blasphemy!' one of them stutters at last. 'Marriage is a sacrament, the first that was ordained. I, Moses, say so; and I can tell you how it was instituted.' And then, as if repeating a lesson which he has rather forgotten, he goes off with the first chapter of Genesis, though he introduces an unusual verse about the moon. ('And to the sun he gave a companion to be his partner, both provided with one light, ruled and measured each in his course') and he then applies the same sequel to the creation of Man.

There is a pause; and then Cassandra says thoughtfully:

CASSANDRA: As to when God made and created all these things—of such matters I cannot speak, but rather of those which the

devil performs daily in his puppet-show. For covetousness—nothing else—he joins men and women together, and demands no other virtue whatsoever. And after Chance has united them, all other glory in them is dead. If I were to marry now, within an hour I should be wishing I had never been born. I have only one life; and if you insisted, I should say: 'Cassandra! Keep out of it!' A husband? I shouldn't dream of one! So do not try to persist with me . . . (*half to herself.*) The time appointed is not yet come.

Abraham intervenes in a kindly, patriarchal manner.

ABRAHAM: But what if you had a good husband? A gentle, agreeable man, never passionate . . .

CASSANDRA: Never passionate? You are much mistaken, dear Uncle! Such a thing was never known. How can a marriage be preserved without heat or passion? Contentment is changed in a moment to its very opposite. Only God is perfect; and if you would know the truth, it is that all men are fickle and mutable through human weakness.

But I will tell you why I would remain single. I know that God will surely take flesh, and that a virgin shall conceive . . .

She is going on to explain further, when the old women interrupt. 'But I know that too!' (says Erythræa) 'And I know that He shall lie in a manger, and that His mother shall remain as pure as she came into the world. And I know that He shall be seen of shepherds and labourers and much people; and great kings of the East shall bring Him presents.' Cimmeria and Persica each prophesy in turn; there is no longer any doubt but that they are not only villagers, but somehow also Sibyls. Time, too, has run back. We were listening just now to a modern young woman; and suddenly we find ourselves in a 'no time,' before the first Christmas. Or can it be that the old women are merely describing what they have seen represented year by year in the parish church: the Christmas manger, the Passion play, and a festival of the Assumption like the one at Elche?

There is a pause when Persica has finished speaking; and then Cassandra says very quietly:

I have often thought—I am almost sure of it—that this Child shall be born of *me*. Is there anyone more likely, more deserving? There could not be, either by disposition or birth.

'We know' (she seems to say) 'that this thing will happen; why shouldn't it happen to me?'

ABRAHAM: Cassandra is wandering!

ISAIAH: I should say, rather, that she is very near madness. Her wisdom, at any rate, is small indeed, if it lead her to such . . . discourtesy as that.

THE YOUNG MAN: It will want the devil himself to find a way to marry her! Upon my life and soul, who that knew her, so

clever as she is, would ever have thought it! Fancy deceiving herself like that! Cassandra! (*turning to her*) According to your answer, inconclusive as it is—you, mad; I, SOLOMON—tell me: what kind of a married life would *ours* have been?

CASSANDRA (*angrily*): I am still in my senses, I assure you.

ISAIAH: Be silent, mad girl! Of that mother who has been chosen, it is written otherwise. You are not like her; indeed, you are the opposite of her, if you think of it. You are stiff-necked, proud and presumptuous—everything that is as far from her as possible. The peerless mother of God, as you will learn, shall be born in humility, shall conceive in humility, and shall bring forth in humility.

The exquisite stanzas that follow defy translation. They are music as well as letters, the music of the most exquisite of Portuguese poets using the grander instrument of Spanish instead of his own softer language—Spanish verse as only Gil Vicente could write it. Isaiah is clearly the prophet. Abraham is the patriarch of unutterable age; Moses the law-giver, and afflicted with something of that jocular manner still affected by law-givers.

'And you too, Solomon my lad (*Moses is heard saying*). Those "Songs of Solomon" that you write are all prophecies. You are speaking of her, and her perfection . . . But if we stop to discuss all that has been written of her, the story would never end; the spirit of man could never face it. All has been spoken by the prophets, by command of Him who made the world; and on the great day, the last and no other, all shall be made plain.'

'Yes,' Erythræa answers, 'my sister the Libyan Sibyl spoke of that.'

'So have you,' adds Persica. 'But when it will happen, we do not know.'

'I can tell you the signs,' Erythræa continues; and then she speaks the famous traditional prophecy of the Sibyl. Historical considerations apart, it is certainly a very skilful piece of prophecy; for it would fit, and will still fit, any age and any conditions.

In a modern revival I can imagine it being accompanied by the melody of the 'Song of the Sibyl,' played softly on a violin (muted) or a pianoforte (in octaves).

When God shall be not feared but offended, and forgotten of all mankind, then shall the promised judgment be not far off, but already come.

When truth shall be despised and loyalty as nothing; when they shall see the life crushed out of him who follows kindness;

When they shall see justice ruled by malice, and faith cold and a castaway, and holy church a captive to the tyranny of covetousness;

When they shall see much labour to build exceeding high palaces and the humble desolate and in want; then shall that day be not far off.

And when they shall see shame lost and reason consumed, and presumption reign over all the earth; in that season shall the life of the world be lost.

And when man shall feel most secure and forgetful of the end; in that time, they say, shall all be consumed with fire.

And then, when Erythræa has hardly finished speaking, the thing happens.

The curtains are opened, where (as the stage directions put it) is set out the whole apparatus of the Nativity, and four angels sing a somewhat conventional carol, to the traditional refrain, *Ro, ro, ro.*

Air: *Quien te trajo, el caballero* Juan del Enzina.

Christ the Lord, Redeemer, King,
Weep not, wail not, woe to bring
To thy mother, so we sing
Ro, ro, ro.

The setting given here is by Juan del Enzina, the contemporary and inspirer of Gil Vicente, whose music (composed between 1474 and 1485 for his own dramatic Eclogues, performed before the Duke of Alba) is to be read in the same MS. as many of the songs in the plays

of Gil Vicente. It is a good example of Spanish counterpoint of the period; the beauty of the tenor in the last eight bars is particularly striking.

When the carol is finished the first to recover himself is Moses. 'By that song I know that God is born indeed; and when we watch him he cries, for he is flesh like us.' With Cimmerica, and Isaiah, he goes up to the manger 'dancing and singing' (as the stage directions say); Persica and Abraham do not dance, but they add their blessings; Solomon pompously greets 'the eternal captain, the heir to the celestial empire'; Isaiah quietly remarks that the prophecies have been fulfilled.

Cassandra meanwhile has been gazing at the 'apparatus of the Nativity' as if it could not possibly be real. So she has been rejected! Another Woman has accomplished it. Suddenly she falls on her knees.

Lord! . . . I have lost the way entirely! And my whole life!
 . . . I can ask nothing; for I never once set foot on the right
 road! I ought never to have been born . . . To thee, to thee,
 God's maiden mother! To thee, crown of womanhood, by thy
 Seven Joys, have mercy upon us!

Cassandra's tragedy is complete. The others, however, pay no attention to her; and (to quote the stage directions once more) 'their adoration done, they sing the following song, made and set to music by the author himself'—the most enchanting Christmas carol that ever was written in Spanish. I have tried to imitate the metre for the purposes of music.

Air: Mil cosas tiene el amor Anon. (c. 1500).

Muy gra - cin - sa es la dan - ce - lla,
 Co - mo es be - lla y her - ma - sa.
 Di - gas tu, el ma - ri - ne - ro,
 que en la na - - ves vi - vi - es
 Si la na - ve o la ve - la,
 o la es - tre - - lla es tan be - - - lla.

None so fair
As this fair lady!
No, nor may be
Richer, rarer!

Sailor, sailor, tell me truly,
You who sail in ships at sea,
Is there a ship or sail that's fairer? Is there a star
As fair as she?
None so fair . . .

Soldier, soldier, tell me truly,
You who carry arms for me,
Is there a horse or helm that's fairer? Is there a charge
As fair as she?
None so fair . . .

Shepherd, shepherd, tell me truly,
You who keep my sheep for me,
Is there a field or flock that's fairer? Are the high hills
As fair as she?
None so fair . . .

The music to the play presents certain problems. While the mention of the *folia* for the tune of the second song leaves no doubt as to its real character, the settings for the two other songs and the carol cannot be found and so must be adapted from music of the time. The two principal MSS. of Spanish and Portuguese music of the beginning of the sixteenth century have already been mentioned: the 'Cancionero del Palacio' (in the Royal Library, Madrid, printed in 1890 by Barbieri) and the 'Cantinelas Vulgares' of the Columbus Library at Seville, still in manuscript, but soon to be published by D. Eduardo Torner, the leading authority on Spanish popular and traditional music, and also editor of Spanish lute music of the sixteenth century. The first of these does actually contain the music of 17 songs sung or mentioned in the plays of Gil Vicente; the Seville MS. has five, but four of them are already in the MS. of the Royal Library. The part-songs of Vasquez ('Recopilación de Villancicos,' 1560) yield three more, and the *Seven Books of Music* of Salinas (1577) two others. It has seemed legitimate, therefore, to try to fit Gil Vicente's inimitable lyrics to music found in these collections, particularly the first. The choice is limited. It is not always easy to find a setting which exactly fits the form of stanza; or to choose settings which are in themselves interesting as music and appropriate to the words. Those given above are offered as suggestions. They were worked out originally a year

ago, when it seemed likely that 'The Mystery of the Sibyl Cassandra' might be revived—the first time, in all probability, for over four hundred years—both in Madrid and at Oxford. The revival by the Oxford University Spanish Club will probably have taken place by the time this number of MUSIC AND LETTERS is in print, and the mystery is so beautiful in itself, so striking in the dramatic presentation of Cassandra's disappointment, so original in its conception of prophets, and sibyls living on as old men and women of any village—and of any villagers being not only living men and women of to-day but also prophets, patriarchs and sibyls who still live on in a 'no-time' before the first Christmas—that its revival under modern conditions should be an adventure very well worth undertaking.

J. B. TREND.

FRENCH BASQUES

CASCAROTS AND CAVALCADES

THE Provinces of Basse Navarre and Labourd produce the same sort of dance and the same sort of dancers. The nearer the mountains the better the dance is the rule. As one approaches the coast, dance, dancers, and dancers' costumes dwindle in interest, until at Hendaye, the last French Basque town, everything has been forgotten except the intrusive Fandango. Yet the coast was once renowned for its dancers. When Louis XIV went to St. Jean de Luz for his marriage in 1660 a troop of 'crascabillaires' ⁽¹⁾ processed in front of his coach. They wore dancers' dress, consisting of scarlet bérets, blue and white ribbons, blue breeches and white stockings. A hundred years later when Philippe V was at Bayonne on his way into Spain—when, as his exultant grandfather exclaimed, the Pyrenees had ceased to exist—a band of young men danced before him. Accompanied by the tambourin and covered with little bells they 'did marvels, dancing and jumping in an extraordinary manner.' The tambourin may have been the six-stringed Basque drum called Soinua, or it may have been the side drum commonly used across the Bidassoa. Still later we find the name Cascarot applied to dancers. When the Princes of Orleans came back from Spain their carriage was preceded by 'Cascarots' who danced and jumped all the way from St. Jean de Luz to Bayonne. Their dress was white with bells down the legs and on the espadrilles, ribbons at their elbows and bérets on their heads. They were called by the same name and wore the same dress as to-day.

This name—Kaskarotak in Basque—is applied in two ways. The Cascarots in general are the gipsies who, so detested by the ancient indigenous race, are compelled to live apart. At Ciboure on the mouth of the Nivelle opposite St. Jean de Luz, certain streets and alleys are entirely peopled by Cascarots; while Ispoure, just outside St. Jean Pied de Port, never was a Basque village but was built by gipsies, who on arriving from Spain were thrust out of the town and were obliged to make a settlement for themselves. It is a doubtful point whether these people are really of gipsy blood or whether they are the descendants of the Moriscos, that last pitiful remnant of Moors expelled

(1) This is for crascabillaires. *Cascabel* (Lat. *scabellum*) a hollow metal ball the size of a nut with a piece of iron inside which sounds when moved. *Cascabeles* (the dancers) put strings of these on their garters.—J. B. T.

from Spain in two waves by the disastrous decrees of 1570 and 1690.^(1a) They are known to have streamed across the Pyrenees, and one mark of their coming remains in the name of the small Lac Mouriscot behind Biarritz. The appearance of the Cascarot population is far more Moorish than Romany. Their skins are brown, their eyes are large and flashing, their faces are oval without the strongly marked cheek-bones of the gipsy. But these sons of the Prophet, if such they be, have adopted all the ways of the gipsies. They alone, amongst the respectable population, think no shame of sitting by the roadside palm upwards, and the Basques have but one word for all that is thievish, dirty and beggarly—'Bohémien.'

The other meaning of Cascarot is a young man dancer. His dress is spoken of as the Cascarots' dress and in many places his dance is called 'Kaskarotak Marcha,' the Cascarots' March. The two meanings merge in the fact that the gipsies are excellent dancers, and since the Cascarots who danced before the Orleans Princes began to leap at St. Jean de Luz, I fancy that here we combine the two ideas and that these dancers really were from the Ciboure Cascarot quarter. The word itself, meaning little bells, is found on both sides of the Pyrenees and apparently comes from *quassicare* (Latin) and *Cascar* (Spanish) to shake. A dance from Rousillon is called by the same name 'La Cascabellada.'

The Cascarots, wherever they appear, and however badly they dance, do at least one thing alike. They come out in the Spring. Like the Morris men of England they dance in their own village and in the district around, and frequently find themselves processing down the streets of Bayonne and Biarritz on a fine Sunday in Spring.

Beginning with the poorest specimens we will start at Hendaye with some white-clad, scarlet béret-ed men, who, wearing bells but forgetting their traditional ribbons, their very steps and formation, brought in the Summer and the May O with the alien Fandango. It is sad to see the white figures appearing in the street, having lost everything but the tradition that Spring is the time to dance—and beg. Perhaps these were Cascarots in both senses.

Ascain, the village at the foot of the Rhune, sends out white-clad men who know nothing but the Fandango. However, directly we turn up the valley of the Nive they do better than this. Villeneuve can send out very smart Cascarots, correctly dressed with a trellis-

(1a) Orders of expulsion, 1502, 1525-6, 1609, and finally 1614. Between 1609 and 1614 it is generally understood that they really were cleared out. It would be interesting to know if any stayed on in the Basque provinces.—J.B.T.

pattern of ribbons down their white trousers, bells, smart magenta sashes round their waists and the red and yellow Basque neckerchief. They have a Flagman carrying the French flag, their music consists of a clarinet and drum, and they dance the Kaskarotak Marcha correctly as they process up the road. But their 'stage' dance, to use a Morris term, is merely that intrusive Fandango again. Cambo, too, although so overrun by French invalids taking the waters, can turn out a very creditable team. These carry us a step further towards the full tradition for they wear the squared ribbons fluttering down their backs and carry little sticks bound with ribbon. They own a Foreman who wears a red jacket bound with gold, and who beats time with a be-ribboned stick held at either end. He is a very tall young man and has his team well in hand. The Basque is extraordinarily amenable to discipline when engaged in acting, dancing or Pelote. It is this last which trains the boys. From their youngest days by this means they learn order, obedience and *esprit de corps* as thoroughly as any English public school boy. One need only watch Borotra on a tennis court or Jauréguy on a football field to perceive this.

Ustaritz, the old capital of Labourd, where dignified *Etchekeo Jaunak* (Masters of houses) once sat beneath their Parliament tree, preserves a further link with the full tradition. Their Cascarots, whose dance is here called 'Maska Dantza,' are accompanied by two or four men dressed in red skirts and Basque shawls. They are decorated with ribbons, wear a leather belt with small cow bells attached and on their heads a high erection made of bent lathes, a mirror flashing in the front. They dance in a comic manner and 'frighten the women and children,' while in their hands they carry each a cow's tail. These interesting men-women seem to unite the parts of our Beasy and Squire, either of whom wears bells and carries the famous calf's tail when attending on Sword dancers or Morris. Ainhos, the frontier village on the great road over the Col de Maya, can send out a team of ten dancers in correct dress excepting the squared ribbons across their backs. They wear bells, however, carry sticks and have not forgotten the Kaskarotak Marcha. Their Foreman wears a red tunic and carries a sword, while they sometimes complete their company by three Clowns who collect money and—a delightful surprise—a Man-woman in a white embroidered skirt and a beautiful old Basque shawl.

Towards La Soule, but before we reach the highly developed Soule tradition, we find the Hasparren dancers decorating their bérets with flowers and feathers above their Cascarot dress. Some years ago the dancers from St. Pierre d'Irube, now practically a suburb of Bayonne, spent several days over their Spring procession, for they danced from their village, remained two days perambulating St. Jean de Luz and

Ciboure and danced home again. There were ten of them correctly dressed and carrying sticks twisted with ribbons. They used a single file processional to a tune never heard since,



and also performed a stick dance (*Makila Dantza*) to the tune of *Malbrouck*. It was this familiar air, which is our 'We won't go home till morning,' and the equally familiar stick tapping, which was precisely that of *Shepherd's Hey* (*Headington*) but done with the next man, all standing in ring formation, which first thoroughly roused curiosity concerning these Basque Morris men and their unbelievable likeness to their English brothers in the art—a curiosity not satisfied yet. This troop with its own tradition is no more. Bayonne has encroached upon the village and apparently killed the dance; but that it should have had a distinct tradition is interesting, sandwiched as it was between the *Kaskarotak Marcha* and the *Fandango*, which last is, of course, of no ritual significance whatever.

Now we travel up the Nive where the forbidden salmon wheels stand idle, past *Cambo* again and the narrow, rocky *Pas de Roland*. When we emerge into green sunny meadows with vineyards above we are in a different atmosphere. The timbered, white-fronted houses are gone, the hills have become mountains, snow peaks rise into view. We are in the old Kingdom of Navarre and a Spanish influence immediately makes itself felt. The houses are of severe grey stone with heavy mullions, and over the handsome doorways are the arms of the family. 'All Basques are noble' we must remember, so even the baker bears arms and displays them on the house built by his ancestors in the sixteenth century. Those who do not show their shield have a sculptured stone above the door saying, in the manner of the old Swiss chalets, that 'Joannes y Catalina Darrenechea built this house 1600,' or are ornamented with naïve figures of birds or solar emblems, swastikas and ovophile signs denoting fertility, which have drifted down the ages from unknown antiquity. And when the sound of the *Kaskarotak Marcha* is heard, girls with crinkly black hair come out on to the high Spanish-looking balconies hung with strings of red pimientos. The dance of *Basse Navarre* has taken on a different aspect and so have the dancers. Down the street comes a 'messenger' on horseback. He is clad in a red tunic, and gallops to and fro dragging

at his horse's mouth in the way peculiar to Basque cavaliers. He is followed by the Lord and Lady both on horseback, the Lord wearing quasi military tunic and a sword, but always the *béret* on his head. The Lady can be either quite fashionable in modern clothes, or reminiscent of our Castleton Garland Queen with the traditional white veil to shroud her manly face. One Lady I have seen wore a blue chiffon velvet dress, flesh-coloured stockings and high-heeled brown shoes. She carried a handbag and rode side saddle with a Navarrese rug tucked round her to keep off the rain. She was made up with care, and being an exceedingly good-looking youth, only a close inspection revealed the fact that this was not a girl.

Then come a few riders in something approaching a uniform, and sometimes a servant on a donkey. Next, one or more *Porte-drapeaux* swaying their flags in time to the music, a *Makilaria* or Drum-Major twirling his stick (*Makila*) which is bound with coloured paper, and a small squad of *Sapeurs* like the old Pioneers of a regiment. They wear enormous busbies of black sheepskin decorated with little looking-glasses and red plumes, white aprons, and carry axes over their shoulders. Their duty is to guard the dancing place.

Now appear the inevitable (and traditional) accompaniment of most folk spectacles—the collectors. These are called *Gorri(ak)*⁽²⁾ or Reds, because they wear red tunics. They carry collecting bags like those used in churches, and when business permits they often dance very well. Then come the dancers, dressed in white, a trelis work of narrow ribbon and little bells down the legs of their trousers, a flutter of broad ribbons on their backs, their breasts covered with gold and silver studs, buttons and brooches. Their bounding feet are in white espadrilles decorated with bells and their hands are decently covered with white cotton gloves. They wear scarlet *bérets* and carry light sticks bound with coloured ribbons. The best dancers, the first six or eight are *Volant(ak)* les Volants, on account of their flying through the air so lightly! The second-class dancers are still Cascarots. At Bidarray, Louhosson, and the middle district of the Nive valley, the Volants wear a wonderful headdress. It is composed of gold paper, is shaped like a mitre, and towers at least two feet above their heads. In front is a small looking-glass; feathers, ribbons and artificial flowers decorate the top and sides and very imposing it looks. The men process in pairs, a wide space between the partners, and the dance is still the Cascarots' March, called here 'Volantak Dantza'—the dance of the Volants. Some way down the dancing files come two strange ladies with frilled skirts and straw hats, seated high each on a man's head. Beneath the frills hang long white curtains covering the porter

(2) The plural is formed by *ak*. This is placed in brackets so that the word shall not be obscured.

down to the knees, whose white legs dance merrily below their drapery. These are the *Girante(ak)*, the giants. They seem to have slipped over the Pyrenees from Spain where there is a considerable taste for giants, and to have joined themselves, unasked, to the Basque Spring procession. Amongst the *Cascarots* a still stranger couple is to be seen—*Basa Andre(ak)*, the wild ladies. Wild indeed they are. They wear curious flounced dresses of brilliant hues, large white hats with nodding bouquets, and long, wild black hair streams down their backs. Their faces are shrouded in white veils—for these of course are also youths. There is something exciting and mysterious in their appearance. They do nothing, however, to enhance the mystery, they only dance. At the end of the procession may, or may not come a few superfluous characters—a beggar, an aged couple, a slatternly girl. Sometimes these people arrive in a cart covered with green boughs, out of which they step at the dancing place. These characters do not properly belong to the *Volants'* procession. To explain their appearance we must take a little excursion into another traditional custom.

The Basques themselves are an exceedingly respectable people. Any evil living or even any trespass against village convention meets with immediate retribution. The young men of the village send a summons to the culprit bidding him cease his offending. If he will not do so he is threatened with 'Rough Music' as it would be called in England. In Yorkshire and the North this uninvited serenade is accompanied by the 'Riding of the Stang.' The culprit, or more often someone representing the culprit, is compelled to take a donkey ride escorted by a clamorous band of frying pans and trays. The classical punishment for adultery has always been this enforced donkey-ride, sitting astride facing the donkey's tail. Nowadays it is softened into the spectacle of a youth astride a broomstick, who announces:

It's not for my sake
Nor thy sake that I ride the stang.
But for—John Smith.

So near London as Southgate, the birth of an unwanted baby was greeted by a concert of pans, kettles, hoots and groans from the street below the window of the wretched mother. And there were many women in the avenging crowd. In the summer of 1927, rough music in disapproval of a too rapid second marriage, was indulged in to such an outrageous extent that the police had to break up the avenging crowd of three hundred men and boys. Great horror and surprise were expressed in the neighbourhood, but it is useless to feel surprise at an outbreak of folk memory. It is one of the most enduring things of this world. In Basse Navarre and Labourd this

form of punishment is called *Galarrotsa*,⁽³⁾ which means a 'night hubbub,' and it has been known to continue the whole night through and not only one whole night but every night for a week. The crimes thus dealt with are: the marriage of an old man with a young woman; third and even second marriages; husband-beating; a fight between an enraged mother and the village schoolmaster, and so on. But when public reprobation is still unassuaged, the night serenade will be followed by a daylight punishment, and this takes the form of a quite grand display which includes a play and dancing.

Tobera-Mustra.—This is the Basque name for the daylight performance and means Rough Music-show, i.e., a noisy entertainment with a procession. But in French it is known as a 'Cavalcade.' A rough stage is constructed in the middle of the village place, or better on the Pelote ground where tiered seats are all ready for the large audience which will come streaming down from the mountain farms and from all the neighbouring villages. For there is nothing secret about this performance. Permission has to be obtained from the *sous-préfet* it is true, but as no one mentions the nature of the play, how can a far-away French *sous-préfet* know what is going forward? Just occasionally the culprit has appeared in person to watch his own condemnation, so on that occasion it could not have been very mortifying one would suppose. But as a rule the wretched people shut themselves up in their houses, fasten the shutters and there remain until the proceedings are over. When the audience is seated—and their seats are paid for even in this public theatre—the Cavalcade approaches. The dancers make the chief show, especially in the districts where they are crowned with golden mitres. The characters of the play follow or go before. There are the *Koblarkari(ak)*, the singers who improvise topical verses concerning the conduct of the culprits and the ways of the village. Then come the culprits, or rather the actors who play the parts. They are dressed as much like the real people as possible and the women's parts are always played by men. Then we have the judge, the lawyers and *l'Huissier* (bailiff). This last is a comic character who is sometimes dressed as a clown in a parti-coloured costume with a long horse tail hanging down his back, and who rushes about in the manner of a traditional Fool. He has a little traditional act which leads one to believe that he was once of great importance. He comes next to the dancers in the procession. After the dancers, the mounted characters as described, the *Sapur(ak)* with their busbies, a few 'soldiers' and *les comparses*. These walk two and two, a Monsieur and a Dame, and seem to equate the Horse Pairs of Padstow May Day. Then come the Giants and afterwards follows a crowd of comic persons, beggars, two gendarmes in rags, a

(3) In *la Soule Tsintzarrotsa*, i.e., night bells. The donkey ride is also well known.

Turk, an 'Espagnol' in caricature, a bear leader with his bear, and other ragged characters.

All these shepherds, sabot makers, farmers, espadrille-makers of this tradition-loving little country, each in his costume, borrowed or made at home, swarm upon the rustic stage and the play begins. The culprit is accused and the judge sends off mounted messengers to obtain distant evidence or to bring back messages. This is an important part of the performance and continues throughout the play. The mounted men tear off, dragging at their horses' mouths and tear back again and everyone thinks how fine it is! In between whiles the dancers perform, but their *répertoire* being limited we see figures of Sauts Basques and the Danse des Volants repeated again and again. The judge finally pronounces a farcical sentence and the accused, of course, is always condemned. Sometimes the sentence and its performance are coarse to the verge and beyond the verge of obscenity; as when a four-times married man was condemned to be castrated, which sentence was duly carried out in mime on the stage. The crowd of beggars and hangers-on burst on to the scene and are often all condemned also, but this is merely introduced as a comic interlude. A much more interesting little entr'acte is the traditional scene played by the Huissier in the clown's dress. He is accused of some peculation and runs away at full speed. The gendarmes gallop after him and the Sapeurs fire upon him. He falls dead and is carried off in a sheet to the sound of a funeral march. There is a description of this scene in 1841 and it is still played to-day. The whole performance ends with a Saut Basque.

But the Cavalcade tends more and more towards amusement, and concerns itself less and less with the punishment of offenders. The feeling that other characters should accompany the riders and dancers is strong, however, for a Cavalcade (1926) which contained neither judge nor lawyers nor a play of any sort still showed a comic couple, a brazen girl hugging a baby (the cause of many a Cavalcade and much English Rough Music) and two men with black faces driving in a cart covered with greenery.

When the procession appears entirely apart from these trial scenes, it takes place in Carnival time, or on Easter or Whit Monday, and reverts I believe to something nearer its original state. It seems to be an almost exact parallel to our English Morris which appeared in the Spring, danced in its own village and sometimes danced its way to London and back. St. Pierre d'Irube danced to St. Jean de Luz, and it is only just of late years that dancers coming to Bayonne have transported themselves in motor-buses.

The Morris Men and the Volants resemble each other about as exactly as they can—bells, ribbons, flowers, white raiment, sticks and steps almost identical. The whole spirit of the

proceedings is the same, a gay exterior with a sober purpose beneath. And I believe this purpose to have been the same—the one purpose strong enough to endure until to-day—the necessity of ending Winter's hardships and bringing in the Spring.

Here once again are all the ingredients of the Spring rite. The Lady on horseback is certainly the usual Man-woman, but who *Basa Andre(ak)* may be it is hard to say. *Dames sauvages*?⁽⁴⁾ Are they some Basque conception of mountain dryads? They belong to the mountains the people say, pointing upwards. There are well-known mountain fairies of that name. These are called *Lamin(ak)* or wild ladies and are generally well disposed, but sometimes malicious. Like English Brownies they work for people they approve of. They will even spread manure and turn the heavy Basque clay, but they must have a piece of maize bread and a slice of ham cured with *pimientos* put for them in the chimney corner. Their appearance is very different from that of the dancing wild ladies. The *Laminak* sit on mountain slopes combing out their long hair with golden combs. Everyone agrees that this is so, especially those who live beneath rocky *Mon-darrain* where the *Laminak* dwell in holes. The dancing wild ladies never combed their hair in their lives. It hangs down their backs like a coarse black horse tail. There may be some confusion now between these beings, as there certainly is confusion between the dancing wild ladies and the elegant Lady on horseback. For I have heard this last called the *Dame Sauvage* also. In any case it is she who is the Lady *par excellence* for she appears even when the dancing wild ladies are left out.

The sporadic appearance of these men-women, the peculiarly Beesy-like Red Skirts of *Ustaritz* flourishing their cow tails, and the remarkable *Cantinière* of the *Soule* show that this essential character is as wide spread as in England. The *Huissier* seems to be the traditional Fool. He wears a Fool's dress, parti-coloured with a horse tail streaming down his back, and like many an English Sword-dance Fool he actually suffers death. Here is the essential Springtime killing. Yet to-day he does not invariably belong to the dancing procession but appears with other characters when a trial takes place. He may have lost his original position with his name, for his dress and his death mark him as an essential figure of the procession.

The bear and his leader are interesting. This animal was of great importance all along the *Pyrenees*. We find him in the *Soule Masquerades* and in the *Chasse a l'Ours* of *Bigorre*, *Andorra* and *Rousillon*. But it is surely the wild bear that is really intended, the bear which came out from hibernation in the Spring, the bear which was used for food and grease and fur. When he is dragged about by

(4) *Lit., Dames des bois*, but in French always *Dames sauvages*.

a trainer we see him in the last stage of degradation—a dancing bear. Yet the transition is comprehensible, for even in that guise he was a source of gain to his trackers and possessors. Lastly we must tell of that well-known animal who once pranced out with Morris and Mummers and who prances still at the Padstow and Minehead May feasts. To complete the list of similarities here is our English Hobby Horse dancing with the Volants. He had very nearly expired, being last seen at Anhau in 1900, when he appeared in a Cavalcade to deride an old man who had remarried. He tended towards the Kentish Hooden Horse type, for the man's head and body were completely draped and only his legs showed. The St. Jean Pied de Port Horse, however, is of the usual type, and after a retirement of thirty-six years he triumphantly made a reappearance at a Cavalcade on Whit Monday, 1926. He was reconstituted and remade by those old enough to remember him, and was carried by a lithe and strapping fellow of marked Cascarot appearance. He was accompanied by his traditional followers, *Guidaria* with sieve and whip, and two shoeing-smiths—strange company for a once divine animal. As with the dancing bear Time has put a bridle in his mouth and shoes upon his proud hoofs. Nevertheless the reappearance of the Basse Navarrese *Zamalgo* is an interesting and delightful example of a folk movement by the folk.

Kastikordak Moreha or Dans des Volants. Collected by V. Ford and S. Brennan.



A Cavalcade at Uhartz Cize took place one snowy day in Carnival time, without reference to the punishment or trial of anyone and almost without audience. It was done apparently for the pleasure of the dancers themselves. A drum was heard and the reedy sound of a clarinet. Down the snowy street of St. Jean Pied de Port came a little white-clad procession, bells feebly tinkling, ribbons flying in the icy wind. How far off seemed that longed-for Spring! There was the Messenger on a lean mountain horse; there was the Lord in his red tunic; there was his Lady on horseback, tucked up in a gay Navarrese rug to keep off the snow and rain. A servant on a donkey came next, and then the *Makilaria* twirling his stick like a Guards' Drum Major. The two giantesses sat on the heads of their dancing cavaliers. The *Basa Andreak* (wild ladies) were missing, but the

mounted Lady was persistently called the Dame Sauvage. The Flag bearer carried the communal flag of Uhart Cize with an intrusive 'R F' upon it. The dancers made a brave show out in the white street, for there were seventeen of them, Volants and Cascarots, beautifully and correctly dressed save for stout boots instead of pliable espadrilles. Even 'Flyers' take account of muddy snow. Their chests were sparkling with the usual brooches, chains and studs, and from every piece of jewelry fluttered a scrap of paper bearing the name of the lender! When a large audience is expected, or when the Volants visit Biarritz or Bayonne as they occasionally do, they are accompanied by a dressmaker who looks after the costumes and takes charge of the precious display, and the paper tags are suppressed. But on this wintry occasion the lenders evidently lent with precaution.

Behind the leaping files walked a *Koplar* or improvising bard, a celebrated poet from down the valley—and note there was no trial or scene of any kind. He is paid fifty francs for the day and seems able to go on indefinitely. The Danse des Volants took them out through the gate of St. Jean Pied de Port and hardly a head appeared at the windows to see them go. They danced right round the Château of the Deputy for the Department, who is a Basque and lives amongst his constituents. This is traditional usage—the taking of the May to the outlying houses. They danced into their own Pelote ground at Uhart Cize where the usual rough platform had been put up. There a small crowd gathered and was presently increased by the congregation when Vespers was over. The mounted characters galloped round and round below the platform. The dancers' limited *répertoire*, consisting of the Danse des Volants with a finale to the tune of the Danse des Satans, and Sauts, alternated with verses from the poet. These were topical, embraced all kinds of local subjects such as the market price of maize and the snowy weather through which the Volants must fly. Audience and dancers hung upon his words and greeted his sallies with roars of appreciative laughter. The young men dancers indeed followed him round the platform, gazing into his face, eagerly awaiting the next line. The Basque language lends itself easily to rhyme, so listeners infer what is coming; but the number of feet is of no account, the poet lengthening the traditional air with reciting notes which last as long as the words require. The effect is very amusing and the audience wait breathlessly for the expected rhyme.

The little Cavalcade finished with *Moneindarrak*, a prolonged Saut, the figures of which were called by one of the giantesses' carriers. Very mysterious his voice sounded from beneath his white curtains, and very promptly and accurately were the strange orders obeyed.

But their work was in vain. The Spring did not obey their summons, and for weeks the Basque country shivered under snow showers and Atlantic gales.

VIOLET ALFORD.

THOMAS TALLIS⁽¹⁾

Among the recent volumes of the *Tudor Church Music* series, one of the most important is that devoted to Thomas Tallis. It is a bulky tome consisting of 318 pages of music, besides another xli of introductory matter, and contains the composer's Latin Church Music only. Dr. Fellowes tells us elsewhere that the English Church Music will appear in a later volume. The editors appear to have collected practically everything known to exist. One or two short and unimportant pieces they may have overlooked. British Museum Add. MSS. 37,402-6 contains a five-part setting of the Responsory 'Libera nos, salva nos,' without words. Add. 32,377 has the treble part of a 'Haec dies.' There is a short piece for three voices, 'Domine Deus exaudi' in Add. 18,936-9. But none of these, as they stand, are of any real importance.

Let us say at once that the volume is edited with all the care and ability that we confidently expected. Apart from the printed *Cantiones sacrae* of 1575, which we of course assume to have had the composer's own revision, many of the more important compositions in this volume are preserved in a large number of MSS., so that little more than a laborious collation of these was required to produce the eminently satisfactory text given us here. In other cases, however, such as, for example, the four-part Mass and Magnificat, only a single MS. was available—a MS. containing many errors and doubtful readings—and these the editors have treated with a care and discretion in most gratifying contrast to the rough and ready methods of dealing with difficulties which we had to deplore in one or two of the earlier volumes of the series. It will not be expected, of course, that a volume of this size should be entirely free from errors and misprints. These we shall notice in due course; but we believe that they will be found to be comparatively few and unimportant. We must also congratulate the editors on the really remarkable skill they have again shown in rewriting a missing part in cases where the MS. was incomplete. As a particularly happy example we may mention the five-part Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis (pp. 79-85), where the added tenor part flows so naturally that we feel confident that it can differ very little from what the composer actually wrote.

(1) *Tudor Church Music*. Volume vi. Published for the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust by the Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1928.

The volume opens with an interesting biographical sketch, in which the editors give reasons for believing that the composer was born about the year 1505—several years earlier than has been previously supposed. They also give us a transcription of Tallis's will, as well as that of his wife Joan. The latter contains a detailed inventory of Mrs. Tallis's household effects, the enumeration of which must have formed a pleasant relief from the editors' more serious labours. We learn, for instance, that the old lady bequeathed to her friend, Richard Cranwell (a colleague of her husband in the chapel choir), among other treasures, her 'greatest kettell saving one. *Item*, an other kettell somewhat lesser than that.' What became of the greatest 'kettell' of all is not stated; but we gather that it formed part of the residuary estate, which descended to her 'coozen,' Joan Payre. Where are these kettles now? And where, oh where, are Tallis's MSS., which are not even mentioned? Gone alike the worthless iron, and the autographs which would now be worth far more than their weight in gold!

Let us pass on to the music, copies of which at least remain. And here we notice one serious omission. The original clefs are nowhere indicated. The importance of this lies in the fact that the old composers arranged their clefs in definite groups. Of these there were several, called in Italy, *chiavi naturali*, *chiavi trasportati*, and *chiavetti*. The first represented the natural pitch; the second was used for deep voices only; and the third, known in England as 'the high key,' indicated that the music was to be sung (relatively) at a lower pitch, apparently as much as a fourth or fifth. We cannot stay to prove this here, but the fact is quite certain. It does not follow, of course, that the music need be sung at the present day a fourth lower, since the 'natural clefs'



give a pitch too low for modern choirs, and the music is usually sung a tone or even a third higher. As an example of 'the high key,' we may mention 'Dum transisset Sabbatum' (p. 257), set in the following clefs



and which even at the present day can hardly be sung conveniently less than a fourth lower. The whole subject requires further examination, and this is obviously impossible unless the necessary data are available. A knowledge of the original clefs is no less necessary for the student than for the choirmaster who desires to arrange these works for practical use.

The contents of the volume are remarkably heterogeneous in style; and this feature would be still more strongly accentuated if we had before us in addition the composer's Anglican Church Music. Who would suppose, for instance, that the two settings of the Magnificat (pp. 64 and 78) were by the same author? Or again, 'Gaude gloriosa Dei Mater' (p. 123) and the Lamentations (pp. 102 and 110)? The fact is, of course, that Tallis not only had a very long career as a composer, but that his work spans an important period of musical development extending from Taverner to Byrd.

The editors remark (p. xvii) that 'it is not easy to date the compositions of Tallis even approximately.' There are, however, certain data furnished by questions of style, by the date of the MSS., as well as liturgical considerations, which make the task, within certain limits, not an impossible one: and this we propose now to attempt.

Among the works which may safely be assigned to an early period are the four extra-liturgical Anthems in honour of the Blessed Virgin—'Gaude gloriosa,' 'Salve intemerata,' 'Ave Dei Patris filia,' and 'Ave rosa sine spinis' (pp. 123-169).⁽²⁾ Devotional manifestations of this kind are a tender plant, and are hardly likely to have survived the sharp frosts and the rude blasts of King Edward's reign, or to have been revived during the short Catholic reaction under Queen Mary.

I have already described the features of these Anthems in this Review (*MUSIC AND LETTERS*, October, 1925, p. 916). I pointed out that the words were sometimes well-known sequences or proses, and at other times had the appearance of having been written for the occasion. Of the present pieces, 'Ave Dei Patris'⁽³⁾ had previously

(2) 'Euge caeli porta' (p. 179) is probably an extract from a similar work. The words consist of the 2nd verse of a long Sequence, 'Ave praeclara maris stella,' by Hermannus Contractus (eleventh century). It would be unkind to enquire what meaning the editors attach to 'quae nunc aperta veritatis lumen,' since they have merely copied a single faulty MS. The correct reading is 'Euge caeli porta, quae non aperta: veritatis lumen . . . ducis in orbem.' The reference is to Ezekiel xlv. 2, 'Porta haec clausa erit: non aperietur, et vir non transibit per eam: quoniam Dominus Deus Israel ingressus est per eam, eritque clausa Principi.'

(3) The section 'Esto nobis via recta' (p. 166) was at first attributed by the editors to Taverner, and printed in Vol. iii, p. 133. It turns out, as we suspected, to be by Tallis.

been set to music by Taverner and others. 'Ave rosa' is a 'farced' version of the Ave Maria, the text of which is found in the opening words of the first six stanzas, thus: Ave|Maria|Gratia plena|Dominus tecum|Benedicta tu in mulieribus|Et benedictus fructus ventris tui.]

'Gaude gloriosa' is a delightful little prose sonnet on the Assumption, of which the second verse may be quoted. 'Gaude Virgo Maria, cui angelicae turmae dulces in caelis resonant laudes: jam enim laetaris visione Regis cui omnia serviunt.' The text varies slightly in detail in the different MSS. For instance, in the sixth verse, our copy reads *proveharis* instead of *provecta es*. We are unable to say definitely whether the latter is found in any of the MSS., or whether it is the editors' own emendation. As Latin, it is certainly preferable, the indicative mood being used in all the other relative clauses. On the other hand *proveharis* fits the music better (see p. 134, bars 8 and 9), and the Latin may pass. In verse 4, the Christ Church MS. reads *spes labentis*. We heartily agree with the editors in preferring *pes*, as at Tenbury. In the last verse the editors read *tuo in nomine*, from the same MS. Christ Church, however (if we read it correctly), gives *tuo juvamine*, which is certainly better sense, and we would add, better theology. And from this point of view, we think that *cujus prece*, in the preceding verse, may pass, and is here more probable than *cujus prole*. For the ending the editors read *adesse caelorum regnum*. So far as we know, *regnum* is wanting in all the MSS., and we had wondered whether as an ellipsis *adesse caelorum* was possible. The editors' reading, however, is much to be preferred, and does no violence to the music.⁽⁴⁾

'Salve intemerata' is an example of a text which, as I have suggested, may have been written for the occasion. It has, I think, no conspicuous literary merit, being somewhat verbose, and the sentences long and rather involved. The sentiments are pious, and this is as much as can be said. The music, indeed, is magnificent; but this we must discuss later.

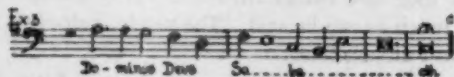
In structure and design these pieces do not differ from similar works by Fayrfax, and even earlier composers. They all consist of several distinct movements or divisions, of which the earlier are in perfect time and the later in imperfect, and there is the same variety in the grouping of the voices. In texture, however, they are more definitely contrapuntal, the technique being that of Taverner's period. As further bearing on their date, it may be mentioned that

(4) We notice a few small misprints in the music. On p. 134, bar 13, the two crotchets in the upper voice should be B not C. On p. 141, bar 1, the fifth note in the alto should be G not A. On p. 142, bar 7, the first note in the treble should be F not G. On p. 178, bar 2 (*Ave rosa*) the first note in the alto should be C not D.

two of them, 'Ave rosa' and 'Salve intemerata' occur in the Peterhouse MSS., which must be assigned to Henry VIII's time.⁽⁵⁾

'Ave rosa' and 'Ave Dei Patris filia' need not be discussed further, as they are incomplete. 'Gaude gloriosa' is an imposing work, showing great variety in the treatment and grouping of the voices, but distinctly archaic in savour. By far the finest of the four is 'Salve intemerata,' which, together with the Mass bearing the same title, and constructed largely from the same materials, may be regarded as the crown of Tallis's early work. The large number of MSS. still existing show how well known and highly esteemed it was even as late as the early seventeenth century. The parts are remarkably free and independent throughout, and the harmony rich and even gorgeous; while the concluding section, in particular, shows a verve and animation which we seldom find in the composer's later work—except, indeed, when he is setting Lamentations and similar texts. It is to be noted, too, that the tonality is Phrygian, and that Tallis returned to this in his first Lamentation, probably the finest of all his later works. To get an idea of how it would sound under modern conditions, the reader must imagine it transposed a tone or a minor third higher.⁽⁶⁾

As regards the Mass, the original tenor part is unfortunately wanting. As, however, the work is largely constructed from the same materials as the Anthem, the rewriting of the missing part has been a less difficult task than in other cases. Large portions of the Gloria, Credo and Agnus can thus be supplied directly from Tallis's music, though in other places, such as the Benedictus, the editors have had no such help. We notice one small oversight in the Sanctus. On page 20 the music is taken from *misericors patrona* (p. 159). The tenor part (p. 20, bars 3-6) should therefore read thus:



On pp. 49-61 the editors have printed some important fragments of a lost Mass, apparently for seven voices, from the Tenbury MSS., of which two of the parts are missing. I had long been aware of the existence of these, and had glanced at them cursorily, but had no idea that they were of so important a character. An examination of the music, consisting of a large portion of the Gloria, and the whole of the Benedictus, gives me the impression that we have here

(5) 'Salve intemerata' is also found in Harl. MSS., 1709, which except for one composition by Taverner, is entirely devoted to such early writers as Davy, Cornysh, Ashwell and Fayrfax.

(6) On page 145, bar 14, the fourth note E in the treble should be a minim. On page 149, at *Tu nimirum*, the time-signature should change to C.

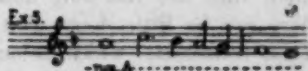
the remains of a Mass of large dimensions, and of considerably later date than the 'Salve intemerata' Mass. The fluent and melodious counterpoint reminds us strikingly of Tye, and the loss of the complete work is deeply to be regretted. The section 'Et exspecto resurrectionem' (p. 56), which by a slip of the pen the editors have described on page xxvi as the conclusion of the Gloria, appears to belong to a different composition, since neither the arrangement of the voices nor the tonality correspond with the other pieces.⁽⁷⁾

The four-part Mass (p. 31) is a very simple composition, probably of early date, judging from its largely homophonic character, the frequent full closes, the rather infantile stops, and the somewhat clumsy workmanship of the more polyphonic passages. The text is evidently corrupt in places, and the editors' emendations are careful and cautious. On page 41, bar 8, we should suggest semibreve G (not D) after the crotchets in the tenor part. On page 37, bar 4, the second minim in the contratenor should evidently be G, not F. The diatonic clashes, to which the editors allude on page xxv, appear to be unavoidable. Indeed, similar and even more remarkable ones occur in Shepherd's far finer Mass 'Be not afraid' (not yet published), and in the same composer's Magnificat for men's voices.

The four-part Magnificat (p. 64) is evidently a very early work, and not, I think, very interesting. The original clefs,



which are not given, indicate a transposition to the fourth below, and the work is therefore intended for men's voices. It thus belongs to the eighth mode, though the allusions to the plainsong in the tenor are only of the vaguest description. The original ligatures are not indicated, nor does the editors' underlaying of the verbal text always take account of these. The MS. contains several corrupt musical readings. With the editors' emendations I am in general agreement, but would suggest in addition that on page 70, bar 2, the first note in the bass should be G, not F; and on page 72, bar 7, the first note in the contratenor should certainly be G, not A. In bar 14 the treble should read:—



(7) A collation of the 3-part 'Qui tollis' (p. 62) with the opening of 'Gaude gloriosa' (p. 123) suggests the probability that Tallis also wrote a Mass constructed on material derived from this anthem.

The five-part Magnificat (p. 73) shows a remarkable contrast in style with the last, and a long period must have elapsed between the two. The earliest date to which we could with any probability assign it would be Queen Mary's reign: and if it could be shown that Queen Elizabeth was not averse to hearing the Canticles sung in Latin in her private chapel, the date might be later still. In confirmation of this, it will be noted that the work is associated with a setting of the Nunc Dimittis in similar style (p. 85), and evidently written at the same time. And I cannot recall meeting with a Latin setting of this Cantic by any earlier English composer. In both these pieces the old triple time is altogether discarded, and the counterpoint is strictly imitative throughout. It is also of a remarkably melodious character, again reminding us of Tye, to whom I should have had little hesitation in attributing the work in the absence of Tallis's name. Perhaps the most delightful section is the six-part 'Esurientes' (p. 79). The tenor part which the editors have supplied is a triumph of reconstruction.

The short four-part compositions (pages 88-98) need not detain us. It will be sufficient to say that they were evidently written for liturgical use before 1549. We pass on to an important series of Responsories, some of which were published among the *Cantiones* of 1575 (marked below with an asterisk), while others are preserved in MS. only. Here is a list, showing also the liturgical reference.

*[Candidi] facti sunt Nazarei	5 v. p. 186	Apostles in Paschal Time
*[Dum transisset] Sabbatum	5 v. p. 257	Easter Sunday, Matins
*[Honor] virtus et potestas	5 v. p. 237	Trinity Sunday, 1st Vespers
[Homo] quidam fecit cenam magnam	6 v. p. 262	Corpus Christi, 1st Vespers
[Videte] miraculum	6 v. p. 293	Candlemas, 1st Vespers
[Loquebantur] variis linguis	7 v. p. 272	Pentecost, 1st Vespers

The first thing to notice about these is, that as they stand they are incomplete. They require the plainchant intonation, which supplies the opening words, here given in square brackets; though these sometimes appear when the words are repeated. To understand the liturgical application of these pieces, we must remember that in the Sarum rite, as in the monastic at the present day, a Responsory was sung at Vespers between the Little Chapter and the Hymn. In the Roman Rite this has long disappeared, if, indeed it ever existed. There can be little doubt that these pieces (with the exception of 'Dum transisset,' which belongs to Matins only) were written for liturgical use at Vespers before 1558. A large number of similar ones by Shepherd and other composers occur in the Christ Church MSS. Musically they all follow the *In Nomine*

type—that is, the plainchant melody appears in notes of equal value (here semibreves), while the skill of the composer is exercised in constructing imitations among the other parts. The freedom with which Tallis moves under these restrictions may be seen by examining as typical examples 'Dum transisset Sabbatum' ⁽⁸⁾ (p. 257) and 'Videte miraculum' (p. 293). The former is perhaps the finest of all Tallis's compositions of this class, and is of special interest because there are similar settings of the same words by many other English composers. Of these we may mention three by Taverner, already published in the third volume of this series; two by Johnson; and two for six voices by Shepherd. The second of these is a specially fine one, but none of them appear to us to be equal to Tallis's setting in spontaneity and genuine musical interest. We must, of course, imagine it sung at least a third or a fourth lower.

We now come to a similar series of Office Hymns. These again are incomplete. Tallis sets to music the alternate verses only—the even verses—leaving the first and other odd verses to be sung in plainchant. The editors have given no liturgical references to these, and we may add only very meagre and incomplete ones to the other pieces. Words and music are, however, all quite familiar. The former will be found in the Cambridge reprint of the Sarum Breviary, while the melodies are all included either in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, 1904 edition (A. and M.); the *English Hymnal*, 1906 (E.H.); or Dr. Woodward's *Songs of Zion*, 1910 (S.S.). We subjoin an alphabetical list with reference to these. Those with an asterisk are from the *Cantiones* of 1575. The rest are found in various MSS.

	Page	1st Verse of Hymn	Liturgical Reference	Melody
Adesto nunc propitius	242	Salvator mundi Domine	Christmas, at Compline	A. & M. 6 S.S. 190 7
Haec Deum caeli	261	Quod chorus vatam	Candlemas, at Vespers	E.H. 208
Hic nempe mundi gaudia	264	Deus tuorum militum	Martyrs	A. & M. 200 E.H. 181
*Illae dum pergunt	193	Sermone blando	Low Sunday, at Lauda	A. & M. 148 E.H. 124
*O nata lux	209	O nata lux	Transfiguration, (Aug. 6) at Lauda	
*Procul recedant somnia, No. 1	214	Te lucis ante terminum	Compline, festal tone	E.H. 264 (1) S.S. 179
" No. 2	215		Compline, ferial tone	A. & M. 34 E.H. 264 (2)
Solemnis urgebat dies	285	Jam Christus astra ascenderat	Vigil of Pentecost, at Vespers	A. & M. 179 E.H. 150
Tu fabricator omnium	289	Jesu Salvator saeculi	Compline, in Paschal Time	A. & M. 163 S.S. 193

⁽⁸⁾ On page xxxi the editors have by an oversight represented this motet as occurring in MSS. only. It was, however, printed among the *Cantiones* in 1575.

As a good example of Tallis's treatment of these hymns we may take 'Ille dum pergunt' (p. 193). The music of the first two verses set—the second and fourth verses—is identical. The plainchant melody is found in the treble, set in triple time, accompanied by the other parts in free imitation. In the sixth verse (Rex Christe, p. 195), a change is made in double time,^(8a) and the same music is used for the eighth verse. The treatment, though concise, is masterly throughout.

The same scheme is employed in all the other hymns, with slight variation. Thus in 'Solemnis urgebat dies' (p. 285), the melody occurs in canon between treble and contratenor. In 'Haec Deum caeli' (p. 261), the dancing triple rhythm seems somewhat inappropriate to the stately Sapphic metre of the hymn. 'Hic nempe mundi gaudia' (p. 264) alone is in binary measure throughout. 'O nata lux' (p. 209) is singular in containing no allusion, so far as we are aware, to any plainchant melody;⁽⁹⁾ and here alone Tallis has set the first verse to music. We may add that the repeat which the editors have indicated on page 210 is not in the original.

All these hymns, though presumably written for liturgical use before 1559, are probably of comparatively late date, since no early English settings of Office Hymns are known. There are, however, a large number by Shepherd, and a few by other composers such as Mundy, Parsons and Byrd. In these, as far as we are acquainted with them, the *In nomine* type is more pronounced, and they differ little in style from the Responsories. The melody is placed indifferently in any of the parts, even in the bass, and binary rhythm prevails. Looking farther afield, we may say in general that these English hymns stand midway between the very elaborate settings of Palestrina and Vittoria, and the shorter ones of Ingegneri, Stadlmayer and others, in which one musical stanza does duty for all the verses. An easily accessible example is J. L. Hasler's 'Ave maris stella,' printed in Proske's 'Musica Divina,' Tomus iii, page 426.

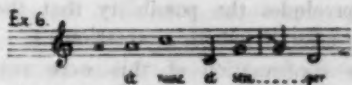
The remainder of the printed *Cantiones sacrae* must be assigned to a later date—certainly to Queen Elizabeth's time. They belong to a type prevalent all over Western Europe in the second-half of the sixteenth century. The different sections of the text were treated after the manner of a close fugal exposition, these sections being successively dovetailed into one another, unless the sense of the

(8a) The original time signature is a barred semicircle reversed. This implies a very quick tempo, and is equivalent to the modern direction *Doppio movimento*. The ordinary barred semicircle occurs only at the *Amen*.

(9) The proper Sarum tune is that of 'Quem terra, pontus, aethera,' which will be found in A. and M. (1904), No. 223. *English Hymnal*, No. 234, gives another melody in the eighth mode.

words demanded a definite cadence: or again, some sections might be treated homophonically by way of contrast. A good example is 'O sacrum convivium' (p. 210), which, like Byrd's 'Civitas sancti tui,' has probably never been entirely forgotten in our cathedrals, owing to its inclusion (with an English text) in the collections of Barnard and Boyce. Some of the others, however, are equally fine—'Derelinquat impius' (p. 189), for instance. The second 'Salvator mundi' (p. 219) is a beautiful and expressive piece, the treble and tenor being in canon throughout. In the lengthy 'Suscipe quæso' (p. 222), Tallis shows equal mastery of fugal treatment in a larger number of parts. 'In jejuniis et fletu,' one of the finest of all, is remarkable not only for its impressive harmony, but for its extraordinary range of modulation, exceeding anything on which Palestrina, though a younger man, ever ventured. It could hardly be sung to-day at the original pitch, since no such deep bass voices are now to be found in Western Europe. In Russia, indeed, it is said that they were still to be heard in recent times. But the work may still make a deep impression if arranged a fourth higher, as the present writer can testify from the experience of more than one performance.

To the same period may be assigned the two Psalms, 'Domine, quis habitabit' (p. 246), and 'Laudate Dominum' (p. 266). The former shows traces of foreign influence, and the latter is a fine specimen of Tallis's work. On page 270, bar 2, the editors appear to have admitted a redundant semibreve rest in the treble. My copy reads:



and this is quite evidently correct.

The seven-part 'Miserere nostri' (p. 207) belongs to another category, and is chiefly remarkable for the extraordinary technical skill displayed. It is a double canon, six in two, with one free part (the tenor). The first subject is found in the two treble parts, which show a canon at the unison. The second subject occurs in the discantus, answered by the contratenor, also at the unison, but in double augmentation—i.e., in notes four times the length of the discantus. The repeated notes in the two bass parts (introduced for the sake of the words) must be disregarded, and each considered to begin with one long F. It will then be seen that the second bass imitates the discantus by augmentation but in contrary movement, while the first bass has the contrary movement in notes four times

the length of the second bass, and eight times the length of the discantus, finishing on the twelfth note of the latter. The tenor part is free, and serves to fill up gaps in the harmony. It will also be noticed, as some mitigation of what would appear an almost impossible task, that the discantus is also really free after the first note of page 208; since the part in simple augmentation (the second bass) finishes at this point. It occurs to us to wonder how many weeks or months it would take a modern musician to construct such a canon, which perhaps occupied Tallis for a few hours. It would surely have delighted J. S. Bach in one of his moods—that of the 'Kunst der Fuge' and the 'Musikalisches Opfer.'

'O salutaris hostia' (p. 276) is a beautiful example of pure Doric harmony. The B \sharp in the treble at the end (p. 278, bar 10) is characteristically English. Palestrina, and perhaps Byrd, would have flattened the B, as in the alternative version on page 281, bar 9. This reading, however, occurs in late MSS. only. The MSS. vary considerably, and the editors have printed two alternative versions. The first is on the whole the better, but we should prefer a collation of the two. For instance, at the last minim on page 277 the editors have reproduced a bad reading from Christ Church, giving consecutive unisons between discantus and contratenor. The passage should evidently read as on page 280, bar 9.

The famous Lamentations may be confidently assigned to Tallis's ripest period. Though the words correspond to the first two lections at Tenebrae on Holy Thursday in the Sarum Breviary, the character of the music, and a comparison with any of the composer's earlier works, entirely precludes the possibility that they can have been written until long after Elizabeth's accession.

If any further confirmation of this were required, it may be noticed that there are various small discrepancies between the text used by Tallis and that of the Sarum Breviary,⁽¹⁰⁾ and even that of the Vulgate. But however this may be, these works, together with the forty-part 'Spem in alium,' represent Tallis's crowning achievement, and must be classed among the outstanding musical works of the sixteenth century, not only in England, but even in Europe. The first Lamentation, indeed, shows a boldness of modulation for which it would be difficult to find a parallel in contemporary work abroad. It begins and ends quite clearly in the fourth (Hypo-Phrygian) mode, with final E. The middle section, *Plorans ploravit* (p. 106), is simply in the modern key of B flat, with a strong insistence on the chord of E flat. But apart from such technical details, its main

(10) I have not examined the Antiphonarium of 1519, but assume that this agrees with the printed Breviaries.

significance lies in its profound emotional appeal, which is not less evident than in White's similar works, but with an added dignity and stature to which the latter never attained. And the explanation of this is not far to seek. There is no reason to doubt that Tallis, like the mass of the older generation, remained a Catholic at heart. To him these pathetic words must have sounded like an almost literal description of the ruin which had befallen the ancient Church, and which he had witnessed with his own eyes. 'How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! How is the queen of the nations become as a widow, and the princess of provinces made tributary! She weepeth sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks: among all her lovers she hath none to comfort her: all her friends have rejected her, and have become her enemies.' And then the pathetic refrain, 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem, return unto the Lord thy God!' From the first note to the last the music never falters, but perfectly reflects the beauty of the words. And more cannot be said.

The second Lamentation is a distinct work from the last, and written in a different mode. Though fine, it certainly lacks the unique inspiration of the first.

Lastly, we come to the famous forty-part motet 'Spem in alium.' It is a pleasure to see this work printed for the first time with all the forty staves on one page.⁽¹²⁾ Dr. Mann's edition, published in 1888, was intended for singing purposes, and the score was therefore divided, twenty staves being allotted to each page, with the result that the score was difficult to take in as a whole. This work is, so far as I am aware, absolutely unique in musical literature. All the compositions in a similar or even greater number of parts that I can remember to have seen quoted by musical historians, appear to be canons, of merely technical interest. Prout (*Double Counterpoint and Canon*, p. 269) prints one for thirty-six voices by Michielli Romano, consisting entirely of the notes of one common chord. 'Spem in alium,' however, is not merely a display of technical skill, but as Dr. Ernest Walker remarks, a splendid work of art as well. The various motives are treated in imitation as strict as if the work were for five or six voices only. The first of these motives is given out by two voices, to which others are added successively, until twenty voices are employed on it. The second motive *præter in te* is treated in the same way until all forty voices are engaged: and even so, Tallis manages to secure harmonic contrast. And the same is the case throughout.

What was Tallis's object in writing a work such as this, which could

(12) There is an unfortunate misprint on p. 260. The treble of the third choir should, of course, enter on the fourth minim of the bar, not the third.

not possibly be performed unless under the most exceptional circumstances, and after long preparation? Was it merely to attempt a feat hitherto unheard of, and to exhibit his superb technical skill? It may have been so. And yet in view of so unique an achievement, and of the circumstances of the time, it is permissible to indulge in speculation, and to consider whether the composer may not have had something further in his mind.

I have alluded to what, in the opinion of competent historians, was the attitude of the masses of the people to the religious changes of the sixteenth century. But this was not all. The most offensive charges were brought by the Reformers against the old religion. Milton's outrageous accusation that in the middle ages 'all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones' only summed up in an epigrammatical form what was constantly on the lips of the more ardent Reformers. The Second Book of Homilies, issued by the Government in 1562, and ordered to be read in the churches, declared that 'Laity and Clergy, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects and degrees of men, women and children, of whole Christendom (an horrible and most dreadful thing to think) have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry . . . and that by the space of eight hundred years and more'—that is, practically ever since the first conversion of our heathen ancestors to Christianity. It is painful to have to allude to matters now happily to a great extent ancient history: but such was the charge made against the religion of Bede and Alfred, of Lanfranc and Anselm, of Fisher and More.

Tallis knew the religion he had been taught as a child. It may well have occurred to him to utter his protest against these shameful calumnies in the only way, perhaps, that he could, and in a form which should not perish, but should survive to a late posterity. And he would answer, not for himself alone, but for forty generations of Englishmen thus foully slandered: he would answer in the words of the ancient liturgy brought from Rome by Augustine near a thousand years before: '*Spem in alium nunquam habui, praeter in te, Deus Israel.*'⁽¹³⁾ Some such explanation as this will not, perhaps, be found far-fetched or extravagant in view of so portentous a work.

For a complete review of Tallis's work we should need to have before us in addition his Anglican Church Music, and also his compositions for the organ, even if much of the former left us cold, and

⁽¹³⁾ The words will be found in the Sarum Breviary, *Dom. prima post xii Kal. Octobris, Resp. 4 ad Mat.* In the Roman Breviary, *Dom. v Septembris, Resp. 3.*

the latter should prove mainly of historical interest. But the contents of the present volume are quite sufficient to confirm the view which has always marked him out as the outstanding figure in English musical history in the long period between Taverner, whom he actually overlaps, and Byrd. His best work, as exemplified, for instance, by the first Lamentation, 'In jejuniis et fletu,' and 'Dum transisset Sabbatum,' is little inferior to the finest work of Byrd. Yet in spite of its nobility, we can hardly fail to notice a certain stiffness and reserve, as though at some period of his artistic life the composer had received a shock, or suffered (figuratively) from an attack of paralysis from which he never entirely recovered. And indeed, to one who had been born a Catholic, and who had no desire to change his religion, the events of the sixteenth century must have been so bewildering that the only wonder is that Tallis's output should be as considerable as it is, and of so fine a quality. And if he had lived and worked under less difficult conditions—conditions resembling those of Palestrina and Lasso—we can hardly doubt that his output would have been far greater and more equal.

And in this connection we must not omit to allude to his curious insistence on the simultaneous employment of the major and minor third, not only as a result of the conflicting interests of separate melodic lines, but even apparently as a legitimate element of cadential harmony. As an example we may again mention the second setting of 'Salvator mundi' (p. 219), a simple and melodious composition, in which nevertheless no less than four of these clashes occur in the last nine bars. Their suitability is still a matter of controversy. Sir Richard Terry finds them 'amongst the most irresistible things in music.'⁽¹⁴⁾ Sir Henry Hadow considers that they need no apology.⁽¹⁵⁾ On the other hand, Sir Hubert Parry admits that in this respect composers 'occasionally overshot the mark, and made experiments to which modern ears, though as a rule tougher than ears of the sixteenth century, will not accord any appreciation.'⁽¹⁶⁾ Even in the sixteenth century they did not pass without protest. Morley⁽¹⁷⁾ actually quotes (without naming the author) a passage from 'O sacrum convivium' (p. 211, bar 2), by no means one of the harshest that could be found, and condemns it as 'flat against the rules of music.' He further remarks that 'that and many other such closings have been in too much estimation heretofore amongst the verie chiefest of our musicians.' For ourselves, we confess that we are inclined to agree with Morley, and to wish that the English

(14) Proceedings of the Musical Association, Forty-third Session, p. 116.

(15) The British Academy. Lecture on Byrd, p. 19.

(16) *The Art of Music*, third edition, p. 122.

(17) *Plaine and Easie Introduction*, ed. 1771, p. 186.

composers had avoided these discords, just as Palestrina and Lasso avoided them. On the other hand, they are strongly characteristic of English music of Tallis's period, and may be regarded, perhaps, as symbolical of the difficulty of reconciling what was due to God with what was due to Cæsar, which must have been one of the most urgent problems of those days.

But it is time to bring these remarks to a conclusion. We will only add, that it is earnestly to be hoped that means will be found to continue this series, of which the first ten volumes are now approaching completion; and that the editors' original purpose of 'presenting in score all that is known to remain of the works of English composers for the Church in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries' may be accomplished in the not too remote future.

H. B. COLLINS.

PAUL HINDEMITH

It is notorious that in the matter of artistic outlook, a generation is apt to react most violently against that immediately preceding and to revert to earlier ideals and perceptions. The pendulum swings swiftly from one extreme to the other. John Donne and Jane Austen are now at the height of their influence, Tennyson and the pre-Raphaelites are counted old-fashioned, and the days of the Yellow Book seem deliriously remote. In the other arts the process is somewhat similar. In the 'nineties the music drama and the leit-motif reigned supreme, but most of the younger composers of to-day (of those, that is to say, who have arrived at full maturity since the war) quite definitely turn to Bach as their master guide and not to Wagner and the Romantics. The eighteenth century witnessed the rise to adult stature of the art of music, and development during the nineteenth century was largely oriented along two main lines. First, in point of chronology, the *Lied*, from Schubert to Hugo Wolf, assumed importance as an independent art-form and came to be introduced into instrumental music—as in the symphonies of Brahms and Bruckner, where many of the most significant movements are lyrical rather than strictly symphonic. Second, the actual texture of music, as in 'Tristan,' was enormously elaborated, and harmony came to be conceived, largely by the French Impressionists, vertically rather than horizontally. The first expansion is that of melody, the second that of harmony, and now the twentieth century in its turn interests itself vastly in the resources of counterpoint—though, to be sure, a work of art is an indissoluble whole, that is so much greater than the sum total of the parts. All that is implied is that, at the moment, one aspect of music is receiving perhaps closer attention and investigation than the others; Bach never experimented in chords like the early Florentines, and Wagner occupied himself more with harmonic subtleties than with rhythmic possibilities. This new occupation with the methods of polyphony implies, naturally, the use of polyphonic art-forms such as the fugue, toccata, passacaglia, basso ostinato, where the interest is primarily contrapuntal, revolving round one theme or phrase and exploiting all its latent possibilities; and it implies the abandonment of the sonata form, where the interest is aroused primarily by the clash and interplay of two contrasting themes or sets of contrasting harmonies. The appeal is made to the intellect rather than to the emotions; orgies of sound and rhapsodic

outbursts as ends in themselves are strongly disavowed; the warmth and sentiment usually associated with Romanticism are regarded with suspicion and disfavour; in short, it is music that is strongly abstract, and definitely objective. The most distinguished member and leader (certainly as far as Germany is concerned) of this group of young polyphonists is Paul Hindemith. It is true that before the war Reger was turning out fugues, unaccompanied instrumental sonatas, suites, concerti grossi and so forth by the dozen, but he never reached the spirit of Bach and Handel, only the letter. He was never able to rid himself either of the thickness of texture so characteristic of his time (reaching its height in the works of Franz Schreker and the middle period of Strauss), or of his own curious combination of *Sehnsucht* and *Schwärmerei*. The music of Bach and Hindemith is terse, and is not sentimental—not that the latter composer is a pale academic imitator of the former; far from it, and herein lies the peculiar and important contribution of Hindemith to contemporary musical history. To the free melodic line and elaborate harmonic schemes sanctioned and evolved by modern practice, he applies all the firm logic of keen contrapuntal thought.

Hindemith was born in November, 1895, at Hanau am Main. He began his music studies at an early age, and later worked under Arnold Mendelssohn at Darmstadt, and under Bernard Sekles at the Conservatoire at Frankfurt am Main. He led the orchestra in the Frankfurt opera-house from 1915 until 1923, when the Amar Quartet came into being, largely a creation of Hindemith, who had now become a virtuoso on the viola (the instrument he plays in the Quartet). Meanwhile from 1921 he had directed the chamber music festivals at Donaueschingen (transferred in 1927 to Baden-Baden), festivals devoted to modern music, at which many of his own compositions and also important works by Milhaud, Toch, Krenek, von Webern and others have been performed. In 1927, Hindemith was appointed Professor of Composition at the Berlin Conservatoire. He is a prolific composer, but has withheld from publication many works, even though they may have been dignified with opus numbers. His first publication consisted of 'Drei Stücke,' for 'cello and piano, op. 8 (1917), and his second of the First String Quartet, op. 10 (1919), but maturity of expression really only began with the Third String Quartet, op. 22 (1922), and ripened with the song-cycle 'Das Marienleben,' op. 27 (1924).

The published works from op. 10 to op. 21 inclusive comprise two string quartets, three one-act operas, a group of short sonatas for stringed instruments, a volume of songs and a dance-suit for piano. The string quartets, op. 10 in F minor and op. 16 in C major, contain some excellent writing, and the mastery over the medium is very

evident. Both the quartets have powerful first movements, and expressive slow movements, but the finales err on the side of length. The slow movement (theme and variations) of op. 10 and the first movement of op. 16 with its rich set of four subjects are specially well-knit and developed, and the themes, generally, are admirably plastic (a characteristic of practically all Hindemith's work), capable of withstanding all the varied handling they receive. The, at times, intense chromaticism, however, betokens the friend of Tristan, and Hindemith's first opera, 'Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen,' op. 12, a mysterious symbolic affair (text by Oscar Kokoschka), is quite frankly a music-drama; indeed, one of the principal themes would seem to have come straight from the garden of King Mark's castle, and uncouth gigantic figures from the land of the Nibelungs stalk gloomily and brood over the deep. 'Sancta Susanna,' op. 21 (text by August Stramm), is a much terser work, despite the rather erotic nature of the subject, that of a nun who feels the call of the outside world. The music is almost entirely evolved from one far-flung chromatic melody heard at the beginning, and the full orchestra is used but sparingly, some of the effects (a storm portrayed by three flutes) being astonishingly direct. There are only three solo singing parts, and the chorus is only used for brief moments. 'Das Nusch-Nuschi,' op. 20 (entitled 'Ein Spiel für burmanische Marionetten' by the playwright, Franz Blei), breaks away from symphonic development of chromatic themes and reverts to the formal divisions of aria and dance, the melodic line being free but at the same time firm. The work is a kind of satiric comedy, and the element of the grotesque (cleverly exploited by Hindemith in other works) enters with the fantastic rattle of xylophones. Hindemith, indeed, already more or less abandoned the creation of elaborate harmonic complexities, and developed his style into something more sharply rhythmic in the group of sonatas comprised in op. 11 (two for violin and piano, one for 'cello and piano, one for viola and piano, and one for unaccompanied viola), composed variously from 1920 to 1923.

But the new ground has to be explored, and hints of whole-tones, Impressionist harmony, sonatina form, neo-Handelian melodies flit across the pages, though Hindemith, always the skilled technician, never commits the solecism (unlike some of his contemporaries) of mixing styles and making clashing effects which neither please nor attract, but only offend. The works in op. 11 are transitional, but are eminently playable (especially the short Violin Sonata in E flat, though the viola sonatas are perhaps more typical) by executants who wish to extend their repertory but are not prepared to associate themselves unduly with all the eccentricities that are apt to pass as modern music. The *Tanzstücke* for piano, op. 19, attack the

problem of rhythm from its most approachable side, that of the dance (in this case, the modern dance), while a compromise is aimed at in the Eight Songs for Soprano, op. 18 (to poems by various contemporary writers); the atmosphere of the individual poems is preserved by the most direct and economical rhythmic means, repetition of accompanying figures, and the like. All these early works, though perhaps immature, reveal, on the part of the composer, a most remarkable command over his material, whether sonata or music drama, whether for unaccompanied instrumental solo or for full orchestra—the Second String Quartet is particularly masterly; and they are further distinguished by the gradual predominance of rhythmic over harmonic expression, and by the gradual transmutation of tonal into formal values.

This simpler harmonic texture, with hints of atonality and adumbrated with rhythmic audacities, characterises the works from op. 22 to op. 26 inclusive. With the extremely original and daring Third String Quartet, op. 22, Hindemith definitely discards sonata form as the basis for instrumental composition, and, further, ceases to attach key-signatures to his works. This string quartet is brief and terse, though in five movements; the first movement is a free fugue rising swiftly to a big climax; the second is founded on fierce rhythmic effects mostly in unison, and the third on a swinging melody (but to be played *mit wenig Ausdruck*) mostly to pizzicato accompaniments; the fourth is a wild fantasia, and the fifth a curious rondo. The other compositions written about this time, anticipate. In the two works which comprise op. 24, the composer uses what is to become his favourite medium, the concerto (*Konzert*), referring not, of course, to the strange virtuosic monstrosity of the nineteenth century, but to the *concerto grosso* of the century previous. The movements in these concerti are several, and the orchestra is not only limited in size, but the leadership passes from the strings to the wind. The chamber-music, op. 24, No. 1, is written for a chamber orchestra (the finale being a species of fox-trot), and op. 24, No. 2, for five instruments (flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon and horn). The themes, though firm and largely modelled for the dance, are free, and the composer makes use of them, fanciful, satiric, bizarre. The same ironic qualities are found in the Suite for Piano, op. 26, entitled 1922. The fifth and last number (a ragtime) of this suite bears attached to it a most interesting confession of faith, ". . . Play this piece wildly, but always in very strict time, like a machine. Consider the piano here as an interesting kind of instrument of percussion. . . ." (*Spiele dieses Stück sehr wild, aber stets sehr stramm im Rhythmus, wie eine Maschine. Betrachte hier das Klavier als eine interessante Art Schlagzeug.*) This use of the percussive rather than the

expressional qualities of the instrument is, of course, characteristic of much modern music, and Hindemith, later, carries it to its logical conclusion by dispensing with the variable personal equation of the performer and composing directly for the mechanistic pianola. This process of condensation and concentration can be traced, too, in the two unaccompanied sonatas included in op. 25 (for viola and 'cello respectively), and in 'Die Junge Magd,' op. 23 (to poems by Georg Trakl), for alto, flute, clarinet and string quartet.

The latter work in style and composition foreshadows the song-cycle, 'Das Marienleben,' op. 27, a setting of fifteen poems of Rainer Maria Rilke for soprano and piano. Here Hindemith applies all his skill of polyphonic writing and appreciation of concerto form to the song-cycle; the second song is conceived as a passacaglia, the ninth as a fugato, the thirteenth as a basso ostinato, the fourteenth as a theme and variations (the bass of the theme being of equal importance with the theme itself); the fifth resembles in miniature the first movement of a concerto, and the eighth finishes with a basso ostinato. Frequently the structure is composed of three voices (one sung by the soprano and two by the piano) related to each other on a strictly polyphonic basis. Recitatives alternate with firm counterpoint, and sonorities are obtained by the severest and simplest means. The calm mysticism of the poems is further intensified by the introduction of a modal atmosphere and feeling (rather than of actual archaic modal writing and of anything savouring of the pseudo-antique, which disfigures, for example, so much of the work of the pre-Raphaelites). The themes are open and plastic, but are firmly and surely kneaded together. Though conventional key-signatures are not employed, yet the sense of tonality, however free, is always retained, and a fundamental note is never lost sight of or forgotten. Finally, rhythm is conceived not as an end in itself, but arises naturally out of the wealth of polyphonic writing. (From the very beginning, however, Hindemith's favourite indication and direction over his music has been *flüssend*.) We dwell on 'Das Marienleben,' as it contains so many qualities and characteristics typical of Hindemith's later period, the principal works of which are a string quartet, a string trio, eight concerti for various combinations of instruments (with or without solo parts), two operas and a volume of piano music. The Fourth String Quartet, op. 32, and the Trio, op. 34, both date from 1924, and have four movements; the former consists of a fugue, a slow movement, a *Kleiner Marsch* (*vivace*), and a passacaglia (with twenty-seven versions of the theme, ending with a fugato); the latter of a toccata, a short slow movement, a short scherzo (mostly *pizzicato*), and a fugue. All the movements are, in short, built round one central theme, but the treatment of the fugue is interesting. The first movement of the

Quartet begins with the fugal exposition, first of the principal, then of the second subject, followed by development of both in fugal wise, by a cadenza, by further development, and ending with a strict and complete recapitulation of the exposition of the first subject. In the Trio, the fugue consists of a terse but full exposition and development of the principal subject in duple rhythm, a short but complicated exposition of the second (full of intricacies and subtleties in *tempo*), a fugal development of both in triple rhythm, a pedal point of chords in sevenths in the highest octave of the violin while the viola and 'cello expound both subjects in free canon, leading to a restatement of the first subject in unison and a powerful cadence.

Of the four concerti grouped in op. 36 (composed variously from 1924 to 1927), the most brilliant, indeed one of the most brilliant works that Hindemith has as yet produced, is No. 3 (1925) for solo violin and large chamber orchestra of twenty-four (but including no violins). The first movement, entitled 'Signal' (in which the violin does not enter), is original and dramatic; rushing semiquavers and a strict rhythmic figure accompany a daring fanfare on the cornet, and lead to the *allegro* proper, founded on three themes each with masterly independent developments; the third movement is a *Nachstück* (one of Hindemith's favourite forms); the fourth is definitely fugal, but there are episodes for the violin accompanied by the drums, in this case light jazz drums; and there is a short, rapid, ghostly finale. The Concerto, op. 36, No. 1, for obligato piano and twelve solo instruments (five wood-wind, three brass, four strings), is a curious work, the writing for the piano being almost entirely in two single parts, one for each hand, somewhat in the style of a Bach Invention. This treatment suits exactly the grotesque and bizarre third movement—'Kleines Potpourri,' but the absence of full rich piano tone makes itself felt, especially in the slow movement. The first and fourth movements are each cleverly built up on one theme or figure enunciated at the beginning. The first movement of the Concerto, op. 36, No. 2, for obligato 'cello and ten solo instruments (four wood-wind, three brass, three strings) is a toccata, and the finale a gavotte, both brief and effective, but the middle movements are apt to be extended. The same tendency is to be found in the Concerto, op. 36, No. 4, for solo viola and chamber orchestra (twenty-two players in all, but excluding violins and violas), though the slow movement works up, thoughtful and ruminating, to a fine climax, and the finale, some ten variations on a military march with a solo cadenza in the middle, is a brilliant affair. Two further solo concerti comprise op. 46: No. 1 for viola d'amore, No. 2 for organ, both with chamber orchestra. The orchestra of the former resembles that of the viola concerto in excluding violins and violas, but otherwise it is smaller;

the viola d'amore, however, is hardly an instrument with a loud enough tone to withstand four movements of modern contrapuntal technique.

The instrumentation of these concerti is noteworthy for the not uncommon absence of the upper strings, and for the employment together of trumpet, horn and trombone, either singly (as in the piano, 'cello, viola d'amore works) or in pairs; the trumpet, sometimes muted, frequently assumes very special prominence and importance. A Concerto for Full Orchestra, op. 38 (1925), is almost a contradiction in terms, but Hindemith manages to achieve concentration by alternating *tutti*s with three extended tríos of solo violin, oboe and bassoon in the first movement, by turning the third movement into a march for wood-wind alone, and by confining the finale to the limits of a basso ostinato. There is some very skilful writing both in this work and in the Concert-music for Wind Instruments, op. 41 (1927), in which the composer tries to sublimate into art-forms the music of the military band and the café orchestra, one of the movements being a most ingenious set of six variations and fugato on the folk-tune, 'Prinz Eugen.' Considering the normal colours of Hindemith's orchestral palette, the composition of such a work as this is both logical and natural. These eight concerti (mostly in four movements) are, taken as a whole, remarkably terse and closely wrought, though single movements can be too drawn-out. The most powerful rhythms come to be sustained by the vitality of the themes, but there are times when the themes seem to be stretched out on a most uncomfortable Procrustean bed to fit the technical exigencies of the moment. Melodies, in fact, are apt to be considered only for the possibilities they offer for contrapuntal treatment, and the quality of the thematic material consequently suffers. In most cases, Hindemith guards against these dangers successfully, but here and there one feels that the music is ceasing to be intellectual and is becoming merely cerebral.

The opera 'Cardillac,' op. 39 (1926), in three acts and four scenes, represents, perhaps, the most complete expression of Hindemith's polyphonic style. The text has been adapted by Ferdinand Lion from Hoffmann's story, *Das Fräulein von Scuderi*, and the action is set in seventeenth century Paris. Cardillac is the name of the famous goldsmith, who fashions works of exquisite beauty, but his customers, as if afflicted by a strange curse, always come to be murdered and robbed of the jewels. An officer, in love with Cardillac's daughter, determines to buy a necklace and solve the mystery. Cardillac tries to dissuade him, and the daughter begins to have an inkling of the truth. An attempt is made, unsuccessfully, on the life of the officer, who now realises that the murderer has been Cardillac himself; the

goldsmith cannot bear to separate himself from the works of art he has created. Cardillac, now thoroughly unpopular on account of all the misfortunes associated with his work, is threatened by the populace, and confesses; whereat he is set upon with fury and dies. 'Cardillac' is certainly a most interesting contribution to a very controversial subject. First, it is not a music drama, but an opera; it is in set 'numbers,' aria, duet, pantomime and so forth (the contemporary revivals, especially in Germany, of the stage works of Handel, Mozart and early Verdi, assume peculiar significance in this respect); there is a chamber orchestra of some forty players, who are largely treated as soloists, various 'numbers' being orchestrated only for certain groups of instruments, while the saxophone has a prominent position in the score; the work begins and ends with massive choral writing, and the love-duet is conspicuous by its absence. Finally, Hindemith turns the opera into a huge concerto. The first act is in the nature of the exposition of the problem, the second of the development, the third of the resolution. In the second scene of the first act, we see one of the actual murders being committed; a cavalier goes to visit a lady, at her request, with a necklace bought from Cardillac, and a masked figure follows him, plunges a dagger in his back, secures the jewel and disappears. The musical treatment of this scene is indeed curious; the ardent wooing of the cavalier (in pantomime, not song) is accompanied by an Invention for two flutes on an ostinato of the strings with other wind entering later, while the appearance of the masked figure is heralded with complete silence. The closing chorus in the third act, when the populace wrest the truth from the goldsmith, is an elaborate passacaglia; the big duet in the second act between Cardillac and his daughter is a fugato, the orchestra supplying the other 'voices.' This return to purely formal principles is, without a doubt, an unusual method to sustain the dramatic interest in a work, especially when a psychological figure such as Cardillac occupies the stage, but the experiment is worth most careful examination, though imitation by less experienced and less qualified technicians would certainly be most dangerous.

The chamber opera, 'Hin und zurück,' op. 45 (text by Marcellus Schiffer), is a most engaging trifle. The performance lasts but a few minutes, there are five singing rôles, and the orchestra consists of flute, clarinet, saxophone, bassoon, trumpet, trombone, and two pianos (one for four hands, the other for two), while the climax of the work, a monologue for a ghostly figure who appears through a trap-door, is set for harmonium. 'Hin und zurück' consists of a prelude, aria, duet and trio, leading to the monologue, followed by the previous trio, duet and aria, but with all the stage action and the musical phrases in reverse order. It is a domestic tragedy of jealousy,

culminating in the shooting of the woman and suicide of the man. Then the mysterious figure appears, expounds life and death as part of a cycle, and suggests that to the powers above it makes little difference whether man is born and dies, or dies and is born again. In the two sets of piano music comprising op. 37, there is much intense, uncompromising writing, full of rhythmic intricacies, now in canon and imitation, now in cadenza. The style is percussive, though polyphonic, while the cadenza is restored (as also in much of the chamber music) to its rightful place as a piece of far-flung rhythm or of free fantasy, instead of merely being a vehicle for virtuosic display. In some respects, however, Hindemith's piano music is not really pianistic (just as 'Cardillac' is not really grateful to the singer), the composer being more interested in the thought than in the expression, in the linear form than in the medium used. Other later works are 'Der Dämon,' op. 29, a dance-pantomime, set for a chamber orchestra of ten, and recalling, rather, the Stravinsky of the *Sacre* period; two sonatas for unaccompanied violin, and one for two flutes in canon, comprising op. 31, where concentration is achieved through strict economy of phrasing; 'Liederbuch für a-capella Chor,' op. 33, a revival of an old form; 'Die Serenaden,' op. 35, for soprano, oboe, viola and 'cello, an intimate and personal work; 'Tuttifantchen,' a Christmas fairy-tale in song and dance.

It is no mere coincidence that the music of the most prominent of Germany's younger composers should be architectural in form, when it is precisely in architecture that Germany is specialising and experimenting more than any other country of Europe. A new living style of building rises to meet the contemporary demand for railway stations, factories, hospitals, picture-houses and so forth, while the profuse and elaborate decorations of the empire period are replaced, both in outward structures and indoor furnishings, by the simplicity of line of the republic. The German architect of to-day is not afraid to experiment on a large scale, trying to satisfy the new economic needs according to artistic standards. The mentality of Hindemith is similarly quite definitely of the present and not of the past; he follows the events and happenings of the world about him, and makes use of contemporary methods of thought and expression, but never drifts into a mere mouthpiece for his generation—his personal equation is too strong. Though he is a brilliant technician, yet he is saved from pedantry by his sense of humour, finding expression often in the satiric or the grotesque. He revives the concerto, creates it anew, and applies it to the song-cycle and the opera; he experiments with different combinations of solo instruments, and, latterly, abandons the full orchestra as uneconomic and unsuitable; he works with new forms such as the chamber opera; he

sublimates the marches of the military band into an art-form; he plays with the rhythms of fox-trots; he sets to music the poetry of the *avant-garde*. But Hindemith goes further in his attempt to co-ordinate life and art, to bring art down to the level of life and to raise life to the level of art. He writes for mechanical instruments, and op. 40 comprises a toccata for pianola and a suite for mechanical organ; he composes music, also for mechanical organ, op. 42, to accompany the film, *Felix the Cat*; he interests himself in the youthful music enthusiasts with his op. 43—instrumental and choral music, but more especially with the 'Schulwerk,' op. 44—several sets of pieces, some for two violins, others for three violins, others for string quartet, others for string orchestra, all to be played in the first position; finally he is concerned about the disappearance of the amateur, and op. 45, 'Sing- und Spielmusiken für Liebhaber und Musikfreunde,' sets of choral and instrumental music, is prefaced with the remark that this music is intended neither for the concert-hall nor for the artist, but is to be performed by intimate circles of music lovers in their own homes. Hindemith is certainly a prolific composer, but this does not end the total of his activities. He has been leader of an orchestra, member of a string quartet, solo virtuoso; he is both propagandist and professor of the 'new music'; he writes critical essays and he draws sketches in black and white. And he is only thirty-three years old.

ANDREW A. FRASER.

BARTOK, SCHONBERG, AND SOME SONGS

I

THE 'Five Songs,' op. 16, of Béla Bartók, are not only worth study for their own sake, but are also of great value as a key to the understanding of a certain amount of Bartók's later work, and even to the nature of atonic music in general. There are, of course, degrees in atony; and these songs are by no means wholly atonic. But one harmonic device is so quickly displaced by another that the same rapid adjustment of the point of view from moment to moment is required from the listener as in the understanding of any purely atonic piece of Schönberg.

The difficulty in appreciating all music which does not follow a regular key-system is to discover what compensations there are for its loss; and here the problem is the same in Bartók and in Schönberg, though it is met by each in a totally different way.

Two props are generally necessary if music is not to fall into chaos—unity of form and a clear sequence of emotions. When the form is very definite, and backed by a strict relationship of keys, the emotional sequence may be more or less dispensed with, and it is enough to have a unified emotional mood, or even the least possible tinge of feeling, as in much of the pattern-music of the eighteenth and earlier centuries. But in atonic or quasi-tonic music, from which key-relations are by definition excluded, the formal unity is not usually sufficient, unless there is an emotional 'story' as well to make the music intelligible.

Of these two elements, Schönberg lays stress mainly on the form, Bartók on the story; and when their music is found difficult to follow, it is for opposite reasons. Schönberg treats his phrases in intricate counterpoint or by imitation, often with regular sequences of intervals (seconds or sevenths) to make up for the want of tonality, but the exact emotional import is often very hard to gather; and since without key-relationship it is impossible for most people to feel the pleasure of formal pattern, his later music often seems to mean nothing whatever when heard, though on paper his patterns look very satisfactory. But their satisfactoriness to the eye has little relation to their musical value; the first of the three piano pieces, op. 11, is more logical in its sequences than the second, but is much slighter in significance; op. 25, an imitation of an eighteenth century suite, is carefully

built on two sets of four notes, but this does not prevent it from sounding almost completely chaotic.

On the other hand, Bartók always seems to be expressing something that he has strongly felt and that is worth hearing, but in form he is sometimes so disconnected and abrupt that it is difficult to appreciate exactly what he is saying.

In the 'Five Songs' what he is saying is obvious; he is illustrating the very definite and primitive emotions of Andreas Ady's poems, and following their rapid changes of mood by equally rapid changes of *tempo* and rhythm. And when we find a series of similar changes in the violin sonatas or the string quartets—though we may not be so sure what he is expressing, the lesson of the 'Five Songs' will not be lost. We shall realise that the swift Magyar temperament of Bartók is alternating between passionate despair and passionate exaltation, though he has no Andreas Ady by his side to explain that it is a lover who is regretting his lost mistress, as in the fourth song, or a youth who feels the autumn in his heart answering to the autumn in the leaves, as in the first. The tortured seconds and ninths in the opening movement of the second violin sonata will become clearer from the analogous ninths in the second song.

The case of Schönberg is quite different. A study of his songs gives a very slight clue to the understanding of his other music, as the nature of the difficulty is the same in all. Perhaps the striking isolated phrases in his setting of Stefan George's 'Book of the hanging gardens' (op. 15) illustrate the general mood of the songs more intelligibly than the learned counterpoint of 'Pierrot Lunaire,' but there is little real help to be gained from the words to guide one to the true inwardness of the music. George's poems are often nebulous, and are themselves experiments in rhythm, an attempt to reproduce the manner of Verlaine in German. Almost their whole value lies in their language; and by breaking up their rhythms Schönberg certainly does little to elucidate them, while he often allows their peculiar quality to escape, unlike Debussy in his illuminating interpretations of Verlaine. Further, Schönberg himself confesses that he does not try to follow George point by point, and Egon Wellesz even represents him as writing these songs under the inspiration of 'the sound of the initial words of the text, without being in the least concerned with the course of the poetic events.'

One is not surprised to find that the nearest way to the understanding of the later Schönberg is to neglect the particular medium, and approach him more or less chronologically; from the last gasps of tonality in the two songs of op. 14, through the tentative atony of op. 11 (really a more advanced work harmonically, though earlier in time), and then, after a slow walk through the 'hanging gardens,' to

the tangled obscurities of the later piano suites. As mood-pictures with a real procession of emotions, the 'Five Orchestral pieces,' op. 16, are really the most intelligible of all Schönberg's later work, so far as I know it; for here the usual stumbling-block, the apparent arbitrariness of the harmony, is to some extent surmounted by the differences of timbre in the instruments, which makes a piquant dissonance of what might well be on the piano an intolerable cacophony. But for this very reason the 'Orchestral pieces' are of little use as a guide to the rest.

II

Compared with the illumination afforded by the 'Five Songs,' the chronological method is not of much avail in reading the riddle of Béla Bartók. One element in his music, that of folksong, does not offer much difficulty. It pervades most of his compositions, from the earliest to the latest. Apart from his actual collections of harmonised folksongs, Bartók frequently founds other movements on folksong adaptations, for example, the last movement of the first violin sonata or the second movement of the second, not to speak of the recent pianoforte sonata (1926), which is constructed almost entirely on such themes, accompanied usually by harsh reiterated chords which are often out of harmony with the rough Magyar melodies, but which through their very reiteration, and independent sequences, become perfectly intelligible.

The other, the more sophisticated, element, which is to be found in its purest form in the 'Five Songs,' equally pervades his work, from the early first Elegy for piano (op. 8b) to the remaining movements of the violin sonatas and the string quartets. Here the national tang is as pronounced as in the folksongs, but no longer appears in such a crude form. It is often sublimated into the melancholy recitative that is the basis of the vocal line in the 'Five Songs.' The characteristic Magyar rhythm of a short accented semiquaver followed by a long note, frequent in the folksongs, is of course, found here also, as it corresponds to the place of the stress-accent in several Magyar words; but it no longer forms part of a definite melody such as the Dorian tunes in the 'Fifteen Hungarian Folksongs' for piano. At most, there are four-bar fragments intruding on the recitative, as in the fourth of the 'Five Songs.'

This recitative is harmonised more freely than are the folksongs, though just as strangely. The harmony is no longer reduced to the simple clashing of two scales or chord-streams, as in such early piano pieces as the 'Bagatelles' (op. 6) or the 'Esquisses' (op. 9), but is

a compound of different devices suggested by the varying emotion of the words.

Each song has, so to speak, a different system on which it is built. Sometimes there are passages where the voice is singing in one key and the piano-part is at least within hailing distance of another, as in the first song, the most lyrical and the least dramatic of all, a youth's complaint of his own unhappiness, and his inability to join in the pleasures he sees around him. His loneliness is cleverly suggested by the slow waltz-rhythm of the accompaniment in a highly chromaticised B minor, against which the voice wails in keys passing from C sharp minor to G, occasionally in a passage corresponding to the piano line; Peter Warlock uses the same device very beautifully in the first of his 'Saudades.'

The fifth song is as subdued as the first, and very similar to it in subject; but the forlorn effect is here produced by different means, through repeated sequences of 'mirrored' fourths, travelling in opposite directions in the accompaniment, and also by the descending fourth of the refrain, 'ich sterbe hin,' recurring against different chords, all divergent in key.

The third song is more dramatic. A forsaken girl, on the verge of suicide, begins a reverie of the past in a mood of uneasy sadness, and lashes herself to fury as the memories crowd upon her, sinking back to quiet despair at the end. Every phrase, sometimes every word, is repeated twice, and Bartók follows their mood by short reiterated figures that rise to a screaming climax, sinking back to the quiet beauty of the longer figure with which the song opens, and so giving it the familiar A B A form. Here there is hardly any polytony; but the voice part, after being at first concordant with the accompaniment, is suddenly brought into relation, not with the actual chord that is being played, but with the one that follows, as if the singer is rushing headlong on with the accompanist panting after. The effect is very original, and stresses the excitement of the almost demented lover.

The second song is built up, in Scriabin's manner, on an unvarying series of fourths in the bass and ninths in the treble, and owing to this rigidity is the worst and least expressive of all. The emotion of the words is strained to nothing through the Scriabinian sieve. Scriabin is also the inspiration of the fourth song, which is based on two artificial scales, one of them (whether by accident or design) the same as that in Scriabin's sixth sonata. But here Bartók uses Scriabin's method less strictly, and the vocal part contains snatches of folksong in a different key from the accompaniment to suggest the bitterness in the recollection of happy days spent with the lost mistress by the sea. In the last part of the song both voice and accompaniment are for a moment diatonic, but their being in different keys

lends an extraordinary poignancy to the passage, in which a simple love-song remembered from the past is distorted by contrast with the unhappy present. This fourth song is of very great interest, and almost a compendium of the different manners of Bartók, though it is not, musically, so striking as the third, or so exquisite as the fifth.

Apart from the occasional hints of folksong, the effect of Bartók's polytonic method becomes almost one of free declamation or speaking to music; and is quite different from such purely vocal declamation as that in van Dieren's 'Levana' or 'The leaves are falling,' where it is only the rhythm that is relaxed, the harmony being of the ordinary chromatic type. It is possible to ridicule the whole method of Bartók, but it is in place, if anywhere, in these songs and is to be justified by the peculiar quality of emotion expressed in them.

They are all songs of regret; they are 'jangled and harsh,' and certainly to many hearers would be 'out of tune' as well. But even this effect is calculated. Bartók, in his polytonic voice parts, gets the same result by different means as Schönberg does through the 'Sprecher' of the 'Gurrelieder' (part 3), or in the spoken declamation of 'Pierrot Lunaire'; they may seem at first sight out of tune with the piano, yet one feels that the voice part, if sung accurately, is not ultimately out of tune. The consonance is below the surface, not on it. One reason why these songs succeed while the 'Book of the hanging gardens' is on the whole a failure is that there is not the same underlying consonance in the Schönberg songs. But it is essential in Bartók that the voice part should be accurately sung. For the peculiar difficulty confronting the singer of such songs as these, where he is often very little helped by the chord of the accompaniment, is that he tends to use the natural and not the tempered scale. He has almost to learn a new technique of intonation, consciously (for example) to contract the fourth while descending from G to D against an A flat minor chord, as at the end of the fifth song; otherwise he will find himself almost a quarter-tone out of tune with the piano.

But the effort is worth making, for even if Bartók's method is only suited to express these particular harsh and jangled feelings, it is very exactly suited to them; that is why these songs are in a way the most perfect works of Bartók, if not the greatest. They are perhaps the completest rendering in music of the emotional pessimism of the Magyar, which is at once less self-conscious and less hysterical than that of the Russian.

ADRIAN COLLINS.

DELIUS AND HIS LITERARY SOURCES

It is only during the last ninety years that the study of a composer's literary sources has been of any assistance to the understanding of his work. Till then, the period immediately following Beethoven's death, the points of contact between music and literature were few and usually accidental. Not only was music essentially self-contained (even the best dramatic music was only concerned with the poorer journalism of drama) but musicians were, as a professional body, only divinely gifted craftsmen. The few wealthy amateurs, men of all-round culture, who flit through the pages of musical history were insufficiently gifted as musicians or too much concerned with conformity to the professional conventions of their time to act as fertilising influences. When music concerned itself with any text not drawn from the Bible its function was precisely that of the philosopher's stone.

The change came only with quite a new type of composer, the cultured man who yet had music in every fibre of his being and who had adopted it as a serious career. For instance, and no better could be found, Schumann. We find at once that we cannot fully understand Schumann unless we realise what he drew from Jean Paul, from E. T. A. Hoffmann, above all from Heine. On the other hand the study of Berlioz's literary enthusiasms leads us nowhere. His attitude was not that of the man of culture but of the craftsman-musician who often got ideas from good books; the same attitude as Beethoven's, who struck it less often and who in allying himself for a divine moment with Schiller only proved that he had nothing in common with him. It is scarcely credible that Beethoven loved and lived with the 'Ode to Joy' for more than thirty years and at the end was never truly fertilised by it; though perhaps we should look in the Seventh Symphony rather than the Ninth for the real fruit.

Obviously the effect a book exercises on a man's work is as illuminative as the initial attraction itself. We learn nothing at all from the fact that Gounod wrote a 'Faust' (except the already apparent facts that he was commercially minded and had some ability for writing tunes), but we do learn from Liszt's 'Faust' Symphony that he was capable of getting inside Goethe's mind and, still more important, we learn what aspects of Goethe's work attracted him most and what aspects he did not understand or from which he was unable

to draw musical warmth. Then again we find Schubert, always able to touch doggerel into pure gold, taking at the crown of his career a tiny masterpiece of Heine like 'Still ist die Nacht' and making of it a masterpiece of quite a different kind. It is only when we realise how beautifully another man might have set those words that we realise how colossal is Schubert's achievement. Schumann apparently could always find the precise musical equivalent of Heine (so inevitable do we feel his settings), but Schubert, whose gifts seem essentially as purely lyrical as either Heine's or Schumann's, transmutes this beautifully sentimental heart-break into something infinitely bigger and more tragic. All this preamble is, I think, necessary to a proper understanding of the work of Delius, or, more accurately, of the particular analytical process to which I propose to subject it.

Few other composers, probably none, have drawn so heavily on literature for their sources of inspiration. (I do not mean for the subjects of their compositions). Certainly none have shown sympathies so cosmopolitan and apparently so eclectic. A glance at Mr. Heseltine's book shows that at various periods he has been under the spell of half a dozen Scandinavians (Ibsen, Bjørnsen, Jacobsen and lesser men), of Tennyson, Shelley, Verlaine, Nietzsche, Gottfried Keller, Walt Whitman, Arthur Symonds and Ernest Dowson. His two loveliest songs (to me) are settings of Ben Jonson and Fiona Macleod. He has drawn on the lyrics of Henley, Herrick and Shakespeare. Most of these names are, of course, to be neglected; they mark only single jewels and are quoted only to remind the reader of his catholic, yet predominantly Anglo-Saxon, taste. But the musician whose major works have been inspired by contact with such different minds as Jacobsen, Whitman, Nietzsche and Gottfried Keller, would seem to be possessed of exceptional breadth of sympathy, sentimental and intellectual. As a matter of fact Delius's treatment entirely destroys the apparent evidence of his choice. Generally speaking the truth of the proposition as to his exceptionally wide angle of vision remains true, but leaving the cultured man for the musician we find that either every literary masterpiece touches the same musical nerve in him (which is highly improbable) or his selective instinct functions with great acuteness not only in picking out the most curiously diverse books for musical treatment but in finding there scope for the display of that very limited range of musical moods of which Delius's whole art consists. They are few, they recur monotonously, their limitations almost deny Delius the right to be considered as great as he undoubtedly is, but they are of intense and unique beauty—for no one else has ever done anything quite like them.

Delius's 'Scandinavian' period began in 1885 with a Hans Andersen song, and culminated in 1908-11 with the two great Jacobsen

works, 'Fennimore and Gerda' and 'Eine Arabeske.' The Scandinavian bias no doubt originated in one of those natural personal prejudices that everyone forms for a beautiful foreign land where one has made charming friends. It was strengthened by meetings with distinguished Scandinavian musicians and literary men in Paris and Leipzig, as well as in the north, so that throughout the greater part of his creative career, Delius has been in more or less personal contact with the finest minds of Scandinavia—Strindberg, Knut Hamsun, Bjørnsen, Grieg and Ibsen, to mention only a few at random. The artistic fruits of this connection long consisted only of songs, minor works in every sense, the best of them settings of that morbidly voluptuous genius, Jens Peter Jacobsen, who was later to strike two masterpieces out of him.

The American impressions began to work on him too, and in 1898, the impact of Nietzsche produced as results the setting of 'O Mensch! Gib Acht!' (on which Mahler had just been trying his hand) from 'Zarathustra' and a few songs. Already the 'Mass of Life' must have been fermenting in his mind.

Then in 1901 the line of great masterpieces begins with 'A Village Romeo and Juliet,' after Gottfried Keller's story. Delius's opera is another example of the sort of transmutation that we noticed in 'Der Doppelgänger.' Keller's simple, poignant 'Dorfgeschichte' (from 'Die Leute von Seldwyla') has suffered a sea-change into something far more 'romantic' and elusive. Sali and Vrenchen are no longer simple peasants; Keller's restrained narration with its plain realism is warmed with sentiment and interpreted as symbolism; the Dark Fiddler, good-natured ne'er-do-well, is as mysterious as Dalua in 'The Immortal Hour.' Mr. Heseltine admits this much in his never-too-much-to-be-praised book; but he forgets to mention the losses as well as the gains, scarcely indeed makes clear at all the relation between Keller and Delius. Delius's distant boatmen with their lovely



at the end are a distinct gain, but the interpolation of the dream-wedding in the fourth 'picture' could well be dispensed with. Musically it is below the general standard of the work, artistically it is Teutonically sentimental without Humperdinck's excuse of catering for the child mind. Keller's Vrenchen dreamt more naturally, of festival clothes and dancing, and that so common sensation of trying

in vain to reach someone; his Sali of going on an endless road through a wood, with Vrenchen beckoning in the distance 'and then it was like being in Heaven. That's all!' But in the opera their dreams are of Seldwyla Church—and they both dream the same thing!

But the central theme of 'A Village Romeo and Juliet' recurs again and again in Delius. It is generated by his view of life as something inexorably cruel to the individual, meltingly beautiful in its cruelty and with infinite power of renewal. He accepts it passively and underlines the beauty. Not for him the protest and struggle of Beethoven, the joyous all-embracing acceptance of Wagner, the renunciation of Brahms (but do we not love Brahms best when he looks back over his shoulder?); he takes life as Thomas Hardy took it. This brooding over beautiful cruelty would be repulsively morbid were it not for the ever-present faith in rebirth, the Nietzschean 'ewige Wieder-kunft.' Sali and Vrenchen, the lovers who find life together impossible, are mirrored in 'Sea-Drift' and in Flecker's 'Haasan.' The same situation recurs with variations in 'Fennimore and Gerda.' In Jacobsen's book fate is too much even for Niels and Gerda (though poor Niels is essentially a lonely person and the author certainly loaded the dice against him). But in this case Delius could not resist the call of Spring that ever rings in his ears. In the book Niels makes his memorable visit to Gerda's father 'on a hot summer's day'; Delius's stage direction asks for 'spring' (and the flute twitters like an April morning); a trifling point but significant. He has allowed 'Fennimore and Gerda' to end on this note. The 'Requiem,' too, turns finally to spring and the rather bleak 'North Country Sketches' end with 'The March of Spring.' Even the heartbreaking intermezzo ('The walk to the Paradise Garden') in 'A Village Romeo and Juliet' hints at 'The First Cuckoo':—



Sounding a deeper note the 'Mass of Life' dwells finally on 'tiefe, tiefe Ewigkeit'—which is the same thing (or, rather, the thing itself instead of the visible sign of it). Very different is the conclusion of 'Sea-Drift,' with its sad 'no more,' yet something in the music contradicts it or at least neutralises it, even while it seems to underline it. Delius did not bring that sympathy to Whitman which both Holst and Vaughan Williams evidently feel, the kindred aspiration and the

intellectual acquiescence. But he found a poem whose central mood was that of his favourite motif, clothed it with lovely sound (*smothered* it, in truth, judging from performance) and made a masterpiece. I feel that the unity of mood between poem and music is due to the common vein of nostalgia rather than to any force exercised by the poem on the composer's creative faculty. Rather, the music seems to have absorbed the words. 'Sea-Drift' probably has a parentage no more literary than that of 'Appalachia,' the work that immediately preceded it. Indeed the words, such as they are, that emerge at the end of 'Appalachia' deal with the same motif of love and parting. Both works were probably generated by that vague revelling in misery that is apparently native to the air of southern North America. Unfortunately we are accustomed to associate this sentiment with particularly abominable music, but, on a higher level, Coleridge-Taylor's arrangement of 'Deep River' (in his 'Twenty-four Negro Melodies') might be instructively compared with 'Sea-Drift.' Despite the complete disparity of works on such totally different planes the same basic sentiment is expressed in both in the same harmonic 'over-ripeness.' Coleridge-Taylor's chords exist in a different world from those of Delius, but they spring from the same voluptuous love of pathos.

Since the 'Mass of Life' (1905) and the two big Jacobsen works (1908-11) Delius has been less obviously inspired by literature. The choral 'Song of the High Hills' is wordless; the 'book' of the 'Requiem' seems to have been compiled by, or for, the composer; the 'Hassan' music is not of first-rate importance.

The self-assertive Nietzsche and the retiring poet Jacobsen would seem to have little in common but the highly nervous tension betrays itself in both cases in occasional hysteria. It is curious to see how Delius has fastened on both and drawn to the fore other common factors by a process of sympathetic exaggeration. Any attempt to draw a parallel between works so different in type and scope would, of course, be ridiculous; in any case Delius is far too sensitive not to have been deeply influenced by the difference between Nietzsche's resonant, excited rhetoric and Jacobsen's nervous prose, 'each drop from the well of his speech . . . heavy, strong as a drop of elixir or poison, scented like a drop of costly essence,' as Georg Brandes put it. The trend of Delius's later harmonic development also emphasises the sensitiveness of 'Fennimore and Gerda.' Yet each figure—Neils Lyhne, hopeless, passive, bitter and Zarathustra, heavy with knowledge, but supported by his unconquerable will and hope—goes his lonely way, bitter and misunderstood, along a path of exceptional natural beauty. In choosing from 'Also sprach Zarathustra' his

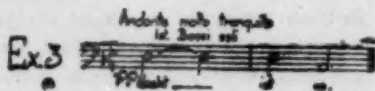
'book' for the 'Mass' Delius has, consciously or not, picked such passages as are remarkable for their poetry rather than their philosophy. His music drowns the surviving philosophy of the words here as effectually as it softens the harsh realism of the tragedy of Fennimore and Erik. In both works (as in almost everything else Delius has done) responsiveness to the moods of nature, expressed in music of extraordinary sensuous beauty, overwhelms human thoughts and feelings. The fjord at night, the beech forest in autumn, the murmur of the fountains of Rome ('Nacht ist es: nun reden lauter alle springenden Brunnen'), the mountains with the distant horn-calls—in such moments is gathered all that is worth remembering in both works. Zarathustra dreams while 'glowing mid-day sleeps on the fields'; Niels Lyhne takes his ease in the idyllic tenth 'picture' in the old farmyard at home at Lönborggard. The maidens in the green meadow in the evening dance as Zarathustra passes, much as Gerda's sisters frolic when Niels calls to see their father. These things are really trivial episodes but Delius expands them and dwells on them with such loving care, lavishes on them such loveliness of sound that they remain with us when the memory of more crucial points has faded.

So we are brought back to the position of 'Sea-Drift.' Judging from the vocal score only (a treacherous guide in Delius's case!) the setting of Jacobsen's 'Arabeske' is similar. The poem is more or less contemporary with the 'Gurrelieder' and therefore much earlier than 'Niels Lyhne'; Jacobsen was a poet before he was a novelist.

In every case the human element is overwhelmed by the natural background. Given almost any poem or book that attracts him by the presence of one or other of his favourite themes Delius is stirred to music—and the music, however varied in manner, is in essence the same. Often, too, amusingly the same (or nearly so) in very substance, for Delius has many favourites beside his cuckoo-calls. But, as they are so very lovely, who complains?

There is just one other point that may be mentioned in connection with Delius and his literary loves. It is a matter of prosody, important not only for its own sweet sake, but because it may be used as evidence on the oft-debated point of the composer's 'Englishness.' Delius is notoriously careless, if sometimes surprisingly happy, in the setting of his native language, and one sometimes hears the fact cited as one more proof that he is 'not in the least English.' I am not concerned to prove that he is. The matter seems of small importance. But it seems worth while to mention that, if his national sympathies are international (if one may venture on an Irishism), Delius is equally impartial in his ill-treatment of foreign tongues. He is not only careless in setting difficult German vowels to high notes but in

simple points of verbal accentuation. He sets 'In dein Auge schaute ich jüngst, o Leben' with 'In' heavily stressed. Nor would a German composer, I think, have written:—



Surely one feels it much quicker, quickly and lightly, a dactyl ('Nacht ist es'), like a puff of the night breeze.

Obviously Delius cares nothing for such points. When words have struck music out of him he wants to have done with them. That they have to be woven into the music strikes him as a nuisance—and, judging from a great many passages, an unnecessary one. How gladly he uses the chorus for wordless passages ('Appalachia,' the 'Mass of Life' and the 'Song of the High Hills'). The most beautiful vocal line in the whole of 'Fennimore and Gerda' is that of a distant tenor in the second 'picture,' singing to 'ah.'

As with actual words so with whole books; once they have given him the initial impulse to compose they carry Delius little farther. He cannot lean comfortably on them, far less (as minor composers are glad to do) allow them to carry him over his own bald patches. Sometimes they are even a little burdensome. Perhaps that acknowledgment is the highest tribute one may offer a musician.

GERALD E. H. ABRAHAM.

THE PRESENT NEGLECT OF BACH

THERE has been a splendid revival of Bach in this country, set on foot in the last century by Mendelsöhn and Barnby, and developed to something like a popular success at the present moment by Sir Hugh Allen, Sir Henry Wood, Mr. Harold Samuel, Dr. Harold Darke, the best competitive festivals, and many other inspiring influences, institutional or personal. The B minor Mass is firmly established in the repertory of every self-respecting choir, and on the average there is hardly a county which lacks its annual performance of the *St. Matthew* Passion. The Bach nights in the Promenade season last year were filled to overflowing even more than those of Wagner or Beethoven. Even in the school-room, the gloom of the forbidding classic has been transformed into an unsophisticated and unstinted admiration. But the fact cannot be ignored that this revival has somehow failed to secure, in its general impetus, a proper recognition of Bach's most personal side—the cantatas and chorale-preludes. A practical visionary like Dr. Whittaker may feel that the cantatas 'are being heard everywhere' (*The heritage of music*, p. 18), because, no doubt, people start singing them wherever he goes; and a Bach cantata is certainly available every Sunday, on the wireless. It is tempting to generalise from such evidence, but it is proposed here to treat it as a piece of too special pleading, and to maintain without further argument that the world at large do not know their Bach as they might; and the purpose of the present article is to face some of the difficulties which hinder this true appreciation—difficulties which may all be overcome by a reasonable effort of mind and imagination.

First, Bach shares with a good many other eminent men the fate of having his most personal work overshadowed by his most monumental. Centenary and all, there must still be a large number of Beethoven-worshippers who know their Master's symphonies and concertos well, but the last string quartets and piano sonatas hardly at all; and if the Schubert centenary, on the other hand, has made us feel that the 'unfinished' symphony and 'Erlking' are only the fringe of an infinitely varied and as yet imperfectly explored country, it is equally a case in point. Similarly, of those who 'adore' the 'Meistersinger' overture and 'The ride of the Valkyries,' many are quite unacquainted with the soul of Hans Sachs, and of Brünnhilde, and all the other revelations which Wagner has made of his inmost self, in the course of operas to which the excerpts named are no more than the West Front to a cathedral.

So with Bach. The Mass in B minor, the *S. Matthew* Passion,

and the big organ preludes and fugues, at once magnificent, profound and inexhaustible, have diverted attention from the lesser works in the same genre. And the right attitude to adopt is not to belittle a master's popular works as such, but rather to recognise the plain fact that when a man executes on a large scale he gains in breadth what he loses in subtlety, and that therefore for these subtleties of temperament we must study his smaller works. Let me add that I speak comparatively, and do not wish to imply that, in themselves, the Mass and Passion are lacking in subtlety, or the cantatas in breadth.

Then, there are the more particular reasons for the neglect of the works under discussion, traceable to their peculiar emotional character. The general emotional trend of the Mass—a tremendous sense of human insufficiency, a cheerful but profound adoration of the power most high, an appreciation of the mystery of Christ's birth and death, a belief in a Second Coming of some kind—finds its response in the developed consciousness of a large body of Christian and non-Christian people; and similarly the 'all-stupendous tale' of the events of Holy Week is deeply rooted even in the modern mind, the pre-eminently subjective numbers of the *S. Matthew Passion* not being allowed, on the whole, to mar the continuity of the dramatic narrative. But the cantatas, and the hymns which clearly directed Bach's thought when he wrote his chorale-preludes, proceed from a cast of religious thought so introspective as to be almost entirely unfamiliar, and even repugnant, to the twentieth century.

As a Lutheran, Bach stood apart from the Pietists as something of a 'free-thinker,' for whom the world of beauty, at any rate, was not the hindrance to spiritual progress which they felt it to be. But most modern readers who glance through the 'programme' of the cantatas and chorale preludes will be painfully struck by the many grim references to (1) 'this sinful world,' from which an escape is not only expedient but essential, death being a joyful release; (2) 'this sinful soul,' for whom a suffering Redeemer is equally essential (hence the frequent notion of Christ as the Saviour-from-Hell, rather than as an inspiration for the heavenly path). On the positive and more attractive side, the central conception, 'Come, Jesu, into my heart, my only joy and salvation,' is the outcome of a personal mysticism which, again, is uncommon in these days.⁽¹⁾ Further, sounding out in sometimes fierce and always audible tones, is the didactic note of the man for whom his religion is *the* religion.

Nothing is gained by trying to explain away these jarring or alien elements. They can, however, be mitigated by the exercise of a certain amount of historical sympathy. As Dr. Whittaker has pointed out in the penetrating essay which has been already alluded to, 'the

(1) Bach usually wrote 'J.J.' (*Jesu, juva*) at the top of his manuscripts, 'sacred' or 'secular.'

political history of Bach's time and the sufferings of generations before him, the tales of which would be handed from father to son in those troublous centuries, explain his grim dogmatism. His religion was a human one, a comfort to him in the many difficulties of his family and public life, and the source of inspiration of most of the greatest music he wrote.' Secondly, it must always be remembered that a Church cantata, and usually a chorale-prelude, was a devotional office, almost inevitably didactic and dogmatic in consequence. It is unnecessary to apologise for its inappropriateness in the concert-room for which it was never intended. Above all, however unduly insistent or denunciatory its presentation, there will emerge, in every place where a thoughtful listener is to be found, a portrait of Christ which (in Dr. Whittaker's words) is unique, beautiful, and convincing—and convincing because of the words as well as of the music.

However this may be for the individual, no reasonable man will allow a prejudice against the religious thought accompanying music to stop him from enjoying the music which it happened to inspire. Like Wagner and many another composer, Bach doubtless intended the words (whether sung or implied in an established chorale-tune) to be more than a mere clue to the emotional significance of the music. But as modern criticism is more and more agreeing to forget the extra-musical trappings of the Wagner operas, in favour of the only thing that really matters, the music, so it is fair to pay most attention to Bach the composer, as opposed to Bach the religious thinker. There is also a certain amount of evidence (as Prof. Sanford Terry's recent biography shows) that Bach himself increasingly regarded his music as his best work, to which the usual ecclesiastical setting was a mere background and sometimes a nuisance. His religion, in fact, at all times comprehended his art. Let us turn, then, to the music, remembering its devotional origin, which implies a less direct consideration for the listener, but not stressing the fact at the expense of the normal musical values.

We may summarise, first, the musical effects of this devotional purpose. The main elements of the Lutheran cantata are (1) the plain chorales, sung by the congregation; (2) the choral or other numbers based on chorales, with which we may group for our purpose the chorale-preludes; (3) the recitatives and arias incorporated from the Italian cantata of the seventeenth century. Bach built his choral numbers on chorales increasingly as he went on; and the long lines of a chorale lend themselves to contrapuntal or coloratura, rather than to symphonic treatment—in any case at considerable length, 'line upon line' in all senses. The recitatives are not, of course, dramatic but reflective in character, and so far rather dull as music; or if they become more emotional, they develop into an *arioso* recitative, a peculiarly interesting creation of Bach's which anticipates the de-

clamatory melody, or melodic declamation, of nineteenth century German opera. The arias (those which are not based in chorales) are primarily musical in design; at the same time their length (e.g. the *da capo* habit) is sometimes not easily justified on artistic grounds. Further, the constant recurrence of certain religious *motifs* has its clear counterpart in the repetition of certain rhythms, melodic phrases or even whole chorales, harmonic sequences, contrapuntal devices, and orchestral features, the understanding of which distinctly enriches one's appreciation of the music, certain turns of musical thought being hardly intelligible except with reference to the religious symbolism which, imaginatively or pictorially, they present.

All this entails grave difficulties for the modern listener. In the first place, he knows hardly a single chorale-tune, so that he may entirely miss the continuity between the successive lines of a chorale which is the basis of a chorus or prelude, if they appear on the horizon at wide intervals, perhaps concealed in an inner part, or nearly overwhelmed by a sea of counterpoint; or in the case of an elaborate coloratura treatment, of which there are so many exquisite examples, the underlying tune may be totally inaudible to the uninitiated. The popular prelude on 'O sacred head' is an exception which points the rule. Secondly, while we may be prepared to hold certain *leit-motifs* in our heads as we pass from one to the other of works so explicitly related as the 'Ring' operas, it needs considerable coaching before we perform the same feat of memory in regard to works which have no official or obvious connection. In the case of the chorale-preludes, the relevant verses which might explain certain musical features otherwise unintelligible, are very rarely before the listener, or even the student of the music (the Novello edition of the *Little Organ Book* is an honourable exception). Thus, the cumulative force of the appropriate psychological associations which Bach presumably sought to induce, by the *leit-motif* system, may be utterly unfelt by the unwary hearer. It may be added that the obvious solution to this kind of problem, a frequent hearing of these perplexing works, is an arduous matter in practice. Very few of the 200 extant cantatas and 150 odd chorale-preludes are performed with appreciable frequency (for some reason or other, Parratt kept his pupils off the latter, I am told); it is difficult, for those of us whose German never was much, to identify a cantata or prelude on a preliminary programme, the English translations, e.g., of cantata No. 8, being almost absurdly unlike each other; moreover, there are several organ preludes on one chorale, including eight on 'Allein Gott,' three of them superficially alike, and organists are not helpful in avoiding possible confusions by explicit programme-references.

Once again, however, the difficulties must not be over-emphasised. We can get to know the chorales (Novello's edition of all the chorales

Bach has used in his organ works, with the relevant words, may be specially recommended for this purpose), and the *leit-motifs*. Even if we do not take this trouble, there is still plenty of sheer music to enjoy. Only, we must be generally prepared for earnestness, and therefore for elaborateness of statement. Like Wagner, again, Bach is concentrated but spacious.

Let us pass on to the more general musical features of the works. The present generation is brought up, let us say, on Handel, a master of simple melody and direct harmony; on Mozart, a master of melody, or at least melodious phrases, and transparent exquisiteness of detail; on Beethoven, a master of striking rhythms and intensely varied interest; on Schubert, the poet among composers; on Wagner, prodigal of every fascination of rhythm, *leit-motif*, modulation, counterpoint, and orchestral colour, which may easily be felt in succession—all composers, in short, who make an immediate appeal in one way or another. It may be added that the sonata forms which have largely prevailed since the time of C. P. E. Bach embody a kindly balance between assertion, development and that reminiscence which is one of the secrets of the hold music can take on the human mind.

It is not so apparent by what manner of means the Bach cantatas are to make a similarly direct appeal. Indeed, as we have already noted, a direct appeal was scarcely in Bach's thoughts at all. His rhythmic effects rarely awaken that elemental and instinctive response which Beethoven so invariably commands. Bach's rhythmic figures are nearly always presented contrapuntally (the opening of 'Sleepers, wake' is a notable exception), and the four-square rhythmic sentences of later composers are scrupulously avoided. His melodic lines, again, are extraordinarily involved, without embodying a very considerable variety of feeling. The only 'sheer melodies' are the chorales, and if he took a chorale, he either decorated it with a profusion of detail (all his most intimate chorale-preludes are in this 'loving,' coloratura style), or surrounded it with a stiff network of counter-melody, sometimes rather drily stiff. His arias, which inevitably suggest a comparison with Handel, seem on many occasions to court vocal or vocal-with-instrumental complications, where his less subtle-minded contemporary would have been content to be simply sublime. The strange, almost perverse, dissonances into which he so cheerfully allowed uncompromising counterpoint to carry him (*cf.* the *Little Organ Book* prelude on 'Lob sei dem allmächtigen Gott') are, doubtless, no stumbling block to a generation which has swallowed Wagner and Debussy whole, and is beginning to understand Vaughan Williams's Pastoral Symphony. Yet if one remembers what Handel could do with harmony in his plain, blunt fashion, it may be wondered whether Bach was not sometimes embarrassed by his harmonic riches. In his treatment of voices, Bach was similarly uncompromising, demanding from them 'the extreme limits of power, of flexibility, of control,

of expressiveness.' Conversely, while his orchestral resources may be adequate in a general way, and continually varied from cantata to cantata, it cannot be said that his instrumental effects have the richly satisfying character of Wagner's or Tchaikovsky's: contrapuntal, or purely vocal, solidity is no compensation for orchestral jejuneness or insipidity.

Bach neither achieves the wonderful and continual variety of Wagner or Mozart—how one longs for a respite from the wood-wind *obbligati* in some of those long arias!—nor in general stimulates or maintains the interest by means of colour. The organ, it may be added, is the most colourless instrument in existence. Finally, instead of the comparatively plain symphonic lines of thematic treatment, by repetition and contrast, to which the masters of later times have endeared us, Bach invariably confronts us with a fundamentally contrapuntal scheme, embodying the minimum of plain or thorough repetition and a disarming homogeneity of style as between one theme and another; and the absence of orchestral character refuses any help to the ear. Often the main framework is furnished by the successive lines of a chorale presumed to be familiar; but how difficult it is to absorb this kind of treatment if the chorale is totally unknown, has already been explained.

It is a pleasant thing to play *advocatus diaboli* with the knowledge that one is going to allow oneself to cross over to the angels' bench later, in order from there to award the opposing side anything from the retort courteous to the lie direct. For although I have detailed these unattractive qualities of Bach because I believe them to be, consciously or unconsciously, a frequent matter for unfavourable comparison with the more direct or forcible methods of other composers, yet there is a fundamental fallacy in making a direct appeal the final test for the presence of goodness or beauty or any other ultimate quality desired. The fact is that while composers may stimulate a preliminary or first-hearing interest by the primitive or elementary attractions of rhythm or melody or colour, their deeper meaning will only unfold itself after a considerable acquaintance, study and thought. And it is this ultimate meaning of which alone the mind takes real account, to treasure in its memorial storehouse of vital experiences.

By relying less than most composers on the primary rhythms (which grow monotonous with repeated hearing), or on melody (whose sweetness may pall), or on novel modulation (which speedily loses its modernity), or on attractive colours (which fade with constant use), or on the more facile pleasures of thematic adventure, Bach has avoided the rhetorical snags on to which a power of immediate fascination has swept so many great composers. Instead, he has put his faith in the inexhaustible and compelling power of concurrent lines of rhythmic melody, or (in more general terms) of a mode of expression in which the various elements are only significant in relation to the

whole, but increasingly significant, as the whole poetic intention reveals itself at each hearing. Bach's style has thus some resemblances to Browning's. It is often closely involved, but it has a unique grip on the mind, once it is completely understood. And in practice, although Bach's work varies in degree of human or musical interest, there is no end to the number of cantatas or preludes which will make a permanent impression on every listener who takes music in a serious and therefore persevering spirit.

Nor should a comparison with Browning exaggerate the necessity for a long and close acquaintance, though that is the most convincing proof of the supreme worth of this music. The massive splendour of the eight-part writing of 'Sing ye to the Lord' (to take the most complicated instance) is at once apparent; equally appealing, in a different way, is the mysterious melodiousness of 'Comfort sweet, my Jesu, comes,' or the simple melodiousness of 'Jesu, joy of man's desiring,' or the magnificent 'arch' of the tune through which 'Sleepers, wake' (tenors, or organ) sings its triumphant way; then, there are the poignant harmonies of the motet 'Jesu, priceless treasure,' of the preludes on 'Jesus Christus, unser Heiland' (4/4), 'Das alte Jahr,' and many others, and the heavenly cadence of 'Nun komm der Heiden Heiland' and nearly all the other final coloratura preludes; lastly, I may mention the quiet but unfailing sparkle of the 'Allein Gott' Trio in A and the 'In dulci jubilo' canon, and the superb sweep of 'Komm, heiliger Geist' (chorale in bass).

By way of finally clinching my main argument, that only patience is needed for a thorough understanding and enjoyment of these works of Bach, I will name a few of the many cantatas and chorale-preludes which I have had in mind during the writing of this article.

(The list of cantatas is closely based on a list of 'extra specials' given me several years ago by a well-known exponent of Bach, but is corroborated by my own experience, which in nearly every case has included at least one actual performance. My acquaintance with the chorale-preludes, chiefly as performer, has been much clarified and illuminated by Mr. Harvey Grace's careful book, *The Organ works of Bach*.)

CANTATAS.

(1) *Intimate in feeling.*

Since Christ is all my being
(No. 95)(1)
Jesu, priceless treasure (motet)(1)
Bide with us
When shall God recall my spirit(1)
or God in heaven, when comes my
ending (No. 6)
Come, Jesu, come (motet)
God's time is the best
Jesu, joy of man's desiring
(No. 147)(1)
My spirit was in heaviness (No. 21)
O God, how many pains of heart
(No. 3)

(2) *Broader in feeling.*

Sleepers, wake(1)
Be not afraid (motet)
A stronghold sure(1)
Sing ye to the Lord (motet)
Christ lay in death's dark prison
(No. 4)(1)
Sing to the Lord a glad new song
(No. 190)
The sages of Sheba
To this end appeared the son of God
(No. 40)
Sei Lob und Preis (motet No. 8)
O light everlasting (No. 34)
Thou guide of Israel (No. 104)

(1) Pre-eminently founded on chorales.

CHORALE PRELUDHS.

(In order of elaborateness as regards chorale-treatment.)

(1) *Chorale plain.*
 In dulci júbilo (canon)(2)
 Christus, der uns selig macht
 (canon)(2)
 Herr Christ, der ein'ge Gottes-
 Sohn(2)
 Jesu, meine Freude(2)
 Erstanden ist der heil'ge Christ(2)
 Heut' triumphiret(2)
 Alle Menschen müssen sterben(2)
 Durch Adams Fall(2)

(2) *Chorale ornamented.*
 Sei gegrüßet (last few variations)
 Christum wir sollen loben schon(2)
 Vom Himmel hoch (4/4(2) and 12/8)
 Das alte Jahr(2)
 O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde
 gross(2)
 Ich ruf' zu dir(2)
 Heralich thut mich verlangen (O
 sacred head)
 Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns
 wend' (in G, long 4/4 bars)
 Liebster Jesu (in G)

(3) *Polyphonic treatment of each line.*

(a) *Chorale plain.*
 Durch Adams Fall (2/2)
 Vater unser (4/2, D minor)
 Wir glauben all' an einen Gott,
 Vater (double pedal)
 Valet will ich (two)
 Wachet auf
 Kyrie Gott, heiliger Geist (with
 pedal)
 Allein Gott (Trio in G)
 JESUS CHRISTUS, UNSER HEILAND
 (4/4)
 KOMM, HEILIGER GEIST (in F)
 VON GOTT WILL ICH NICHT LASSEN

(b) *Chorale ornamented.*
 An Wasserflüssen Babylon (double
 pedal)
 Aus tiefer Noth (with pedal)
 ALLEIN GOTT (in A, coloratura)
 NUM KOMM, DER HEIDEN HEILAND
 (Coloratura)
 SCHMUCKE DICH (in E flat)
 WENN WIR IN HOCHSTEN NOTHEN
 (long)
 or VOR DEINEN THRON
 AN WASSERFLÜSSEN BABYLON
 ALLEIN GOTT (in G, coloratura)

Chorale in tenor in the last two
 instances.

(c) *Free development of a single line.*

(i) *Fugues.*
 Christ ist erstanden
 Magnificat
 Wir glauben (the 'Giant')
 NON KOMM, DER HEIDEN HEILAND

(ii) *Trios.*
 ALLEIN GOTT (in A)
 HERR JESU CHRIST (in G)

The eighteen preludes revised at Leipsic are named in capitals.

Music is not made religious by being set to religious words, but by its embodiment of a steadfastness of purpose which is divinely uncon-
 tent until the vision within has found its unique expressive utterance.
 It is by this convincing concentration of purpose, truest emblem of
 work done (in Bach's own plain phrase) 'for the glory of God,' that
 the music named above will win the approving glance of time, which
 is slow of aim but once directed, unerring and irresistible.

A. E. F. DICKINSON.

(2) *The Little Organ Book.*

CORRESPONDENCE

Liverpool,
Dec. 20, 1928.

MR. SABANEV ON DEBUSSY

SIR,—I see Mr. Sabaneev dismisses French, German and Russian attempts at 'appraising' Debussy's music and ignores (perhaps is ignorant of) English efforts at 'placing' Debussy. Yet, excellent and systematic as I find his own article to be, I can discover nothing which has not been fairly hinted at before by our men. He has written more fully, yet I doubt if he has more nearly reached rock-bottom. For my part there is nothing here new to me, save one thing which intuition tells me is a blunder, and that is, naming Grieg as one of Debussy's intellectual ancestors. Debussy's contempt for Grieg's music was open and often mentioned to his pupils. On paper Grieg's 'harmonic innovations, full-summed systematic impressionism' may look like 'a psychological approach to tone material . . . evident in Debussy's work,' in æsthetic effect they are as utterly opposed as were these two men's general tastes. It is seldom indeed Mr. Sabaneev's intuition fails him, but it certainly has done so here. (It is extraordinary, perhaps, how few people feel Grieg's music in the Norwegian manner.)

It is all very well to talk of the pantheism of Grieg and Debussy. Debussy's was rather a case of atheism than pantheism—like Laplace in his '*Mécanique Céleste*,' Debussy, in his music at least, '*n'avait pas besoin de cette hypothèse-là*.' Further on in his article Mr. Sabaneev confirms my suggestion 'or consider art a religious act'—true of Debussy, untrue of Grieg. I respectfully suggest there is no need to make an elaborate mystery of Debussy's musical position; it is a mystery, but a simple one. Debussy represents the last word in French culture. In French culture reason is the senior partner; reason must have vision, and vision is a network of separations (artificial of course). Debussy separated ethics and intellect from æsthetics, until, as nearly as possible, he achieved 'sensational nudity.' His music sought to depict (as nearly as convenient and possible) nothing but the pleasurable action of the senses. He teased out the sense-element in our æsthetic complexes and exhibited it in its raw or uncombined state. He carried this French process further than any artist has yet done successfully in any art. In appreciating his music you are as nearly as possible in the position of an animal, i.e., one devoid of reason and all its implications. A musical cow would need no telling how to appreciate Debussy's music. A cow, of course, or a goat, has a few emotions as well as five senses, but they have not been elaborated by any rationalising faculty, as in the case of poor '*homo sapiens*,' at least, we believe so. There is no aim in their lives (no marked systematic aim) and save when hunger or fear urges, there is languor; an abysmal languor almost unknown to agitated human beings. Debussy affords occasional peeps into

this cavernous languor of the beasts. It seems to me that Debussy, Mallarmé and Company had a craving to know how the animal creation felt life. Thomas Huxley says, however, 'There is only one way to know how a crayfish feels and that is to be a crayfish.' To feel as the beasts feel, however, would not increase our *wonderment at this world*, unless we could at the same time compare those feelings with ours; then, indeed, our sense of the mystery of life would be deepened in a new way. A knowledge of psychology, however, flatters us with an illusion (if not anything sounder) of approximating to this conception. If you would appreciate Debussy truly, make your mind a blank and listen—and as far as possible keep your mind a blank—then, perhaps, the whinny of the colt and the bleat of the lamb may add to life's mysteries for you, or at least occasion you a new æsthetic emotion. Herein lay Debussy's originality and 'L'Après midi d'un Faune' is the art of Debussy at focus point; his other works are marginal compromises. Grieg, the Peter pantheistic, rather than the non-deistic Debussy, is the man who has never been truly appraised. Disgusting nonsense about 'sugary-music' and 'tiresome mannerisms' is all I have been able to read in honour of the little man. My mother was on her father's side French, on her mother's Norwegian; both sides of her family were musical, but how different was the feeling for tone—on the French side the violin playing was hollow and polished; on the Norse, sweet and gritty—yet glittering cold. Miss Florence MacBeth, the singer, has a Norwegian tone; Miss Evelyn Scotney a French tone. I heard that at once—asked, and have in my possession still, their letters admitting Norse and French blood respectively of no very remote period. Recently I heard a girl with a French name sing. Her voice was Norse. She *was* Norse, though she did not *look* it. The French name was assumed. Silly as it may seem to mention these little intuitions, they are after all more reliable guides than all the learned theorisings in the world in helping one to appraise certain aspects of a composer's work; wherever that composer represents his nation musically speaking. Debussy and Grieg did this—they were totally unlike, however any analysis of chords may seem to show the contrary. Of course, Debussy reacted to a hundred and one musical influences, but always in an ultra-French way, i.e., reducing æsthetics to its lowest terms.

May I humbly remark in conclusion, that much as I admire Mr. Sabaneev's masterly and systematic exposition in this article, I think he has this time not cast his sounding line so deep as usual, and that also his remarks concerning tone-colour, palette, &c., are a mere beating of the air, mere literary embellishments not too well in place in this scientific exposition. That he has accomplished his task in a manner quite beyond my powers, I am sure, but that his intuition has failed him at points where mine would not have failed me, I am equally sure. His method here has been too much the method of history.

Yours obediently,

H. P. MORGAN-BROWNE.

REGISTER OF BOOKS ON MUSIC

THE following list contains a selection of recent books on music. Unless otherwise stated, the year of publication is 1929. All prices quoted are net, and in the case of foreign books the price given is that at which the cheapest edition can be purchased in the country in which the book is published. At the present rates of exchange ten dollars = £2 1s. 2½d.; ten French francs = 1s. 7½d.; ten Swiss francs = 7s. 11d.; ten German marks = 8s. 9½d.; ten Austrian shillings = 5s. 9½d.; ten Italian lire = 2s. 2d.; ten Spanish pesetas = 6s. 4d.

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C. B. O.

BOOK REVIEWS

Collected Essays. By W. H. Hadow. Oxford University Press. 15s. net.

Generosity of disposition should be answered by a similar gesture, and an author who gives good measure, so large a preponderance being the ripest harvest of a fine mind, is justified in expecting that he shall be given a fair hearing. Sir Henry Hadow's knowledge of the æsthetics and philosophy of music is deep, and we suspect him also of having a skeleton in his cupboard, something in the nature of sheaves of compositions (other than the few published ones) from the exercise of which talent he has obtained his appreciation of the works of others. Besides being a guide he is also a prophet, and it is here that his generosity shows itself again. In this book he has reprinted essays (one dating from 1906) in which there appear valuations which at that date had all the interest of seership. Now the centre of interest has shifted with the passage of time, and we are able to judge how far the author was right in his strictures. It must be owned that he comes well out of the ordeal. If it seems now strange to say of Debussy's string quartet that it 'has blurred with iridescent rays the severe contours of chamber music,' yet against that may be put this (regarding Schönberg), 'the impression that they [the compositions up to 1915] give me is that of the end of an old art, not the beginning of a new one,' a dictum which is surely supported by later events. It is this ability to see all round a subject which makes Sir Henry Hadow's essays on Beethoven, on 'Brahms and the Classical Tradition,' and 'A Croatian Composer' (Haydn, an essay which has already had some publicity) the best reading possible; and music is notoriously difficult to write on, if information and general interest are to be combined. The essay on Parry is very just in placing him both as musician and teacher. The volume ends with some pages on music in relation to life and to letters which are admirably written. Sir Henry Hadow never fails, even in his specifically musical writings, to draw on the other arts for purposes of illustrating his meaning in matters that a narrower mind would have imagined to be referable solely to music. These final essays, having a wider appeal than those purely musical ones which precede them, are not the least valuable part of this notable collection.

Voice and verse. A study in English song. By H. C. Colles. Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d. net.

Song is bound up with the language of the country in which it is being practised, and, as the author of this book insists, a musician must learn how to treat his own language justly and effectively. Until he has soaked himself in it he cannot expect to be able to 'set' it. Purcell succeeded because his instinct was right. Handel did not because, being a German from Italy he was unable to balance his love for this country with an equally deep knowledge of the metre and

scansion of his adopted language. Any discussion of voice and verse must eventually lead to the question of opera, and any talk of opera in England, or still more so of English opera, must come round to Henry Purcell. Mr. Colles makes him the centre of his discussion, reaching out from there towards matters of opera in the past, and in the future (for there is no present.) Purcell's example did not infect others, Mr. Colles suggests, because 'he had not the vigorous temperament to enforce it.' The short span of his life must also be taken into account. An even stronger reason for our perpetually renewed interest in what comes to us from abroad, which leads us to neglect what is under our noses, lies deep in the national character. We have always been, and to a great extent are still, a nation of explorers. We still long to see and hear strange things. We have become the best listeners in the world, not critical ones, perhaps, but interested and welcoming. Handel found that out. The foreign composer and artist finds it out to this day. And so, in his turn, does the native composer and executant. As Mr. Colles points out with much strength of argument, what is wanted for us is not more opera, but more native opera. Who but we ourselves can hope to understand the delicate rhythms of English prosody? Whom, then, but a native composer should we ask to write to English words? We try to translate foreign music (for that is what the translation of the libretto of an opera, if done sincerely, has to come to) while all the time we have our own musicians with their works demanding performance. Whether we agree or not with Mr. Colles' contention that 'opera is essential because it is the only means through which the union of language and music can be effected and developed to the full in song, the fact remains that if we are to have native opera at all we must make an effort and give it a chance of survival by encouraging our own undoubted talent. We must make the effort of becoming good listeners to our own music.

Antonin Dvořák. By Karel Hoffmeister. Edited and translated, with a Foreword, by Rosa Newmarch. John Lane. 6s.

The history of modern Czech music is contained in the two names Smetana (1824-1884) and Dvořák (1841-1904). These two men covered practically the whole field of music, their names were used as the battle-cries of two opposing parties, their works were hotly disputed. That these disputes often took on an extra-musical complexion is something which it is difficult for us more western Europeans to understand, for all that we may sympathise with the aims and aspirations of the various members of the great Slav family. Here in the west we are happily freed from those questions, or at least are able to keep our art from the taint of political usages, and possibly we are apt too hastily to judge the tortured nationalistic feelings of the nineteenth century Slav. As Dr. Hoffmeister shows, in his admirable short study, Smetana, with his eyes directed towards a Czech State which now Masaryk has made into a glowing reality, was driven by the high colour of his politics towards a self-consciously nationalistic utterance in music which could only be effective in so far as it was narrowed down to very definite expression. Here the younger Dvořák found it impossible, with his own especial heritage of great

art—Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms—on an altogether other plane, to follow him. Mrs. Newmarch says of him, in her informative foreword of reminiscence, that he was never involved in the political struggle. His frequent visits abroad served to keep him of an open mind. True Slav as he was (and both Mrs. Newmarch and Dr. Hoffmeister insist on that) he yet was able to keep himself sustained in the rarer atmosphere of his art, leaving territorial problems for other minds. It is this side of Dvorák which Dr. Hoffmeister bears witness to, and in so doing gives peculiar point to his book. Mrs. Newmarch says she has been left 'a free hand as regards such cuts and additions as seemed advisable.' Whatever she has done the result is good.

Sc. G.

Brahms's Lieder. By Max Friedlaender. Translated by C. Leonard Leese. Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d. net.

This is a naïf book for simple-minded readers. Who else could accept such cut-and-dried descriptive analyses of Brahms's songs? If they knew and loved the music, these flowery paragraphs could not but annoy. If they did not know the songs, then it is improbable that they would be fired to acquaint themselves with them by such platitudinous wordiness as this. Continually the sensibilities are ruffled by some astonishingly inept piece of delineation, whose very air of self-satisfaction makes it *per se* magnificently wrong. Such are: 'Like a beautiful landscape in pastel shades runs the accompaniment' ('Feldeinsamkeit'); or: 'Blithely rings out the melody with its ecstasy of love' ('Wie bist du, meine Königin'). It does not help. (In fairness it must be owned that these two examples are among the most purely banal, and a comparison with the original shows that this banality is the translator's.) But when we turn to Friedländer himself we find much that is useful, especially in the frequent quotations from Brahms's letters. These have some interest in that they show how he himself felt about the songs. In the same way the Herzogenberg letters, also quoted, give an illuminating glimpse of contemporary opinion. The notes as to dates of composition and publication are useful, and there is an adequate index of the songs.

Sc. G.

An introduction to the music of R. Vaughan Williams. By A. E. F. Dickinson. "The Musical Pilgrim." Oxford University Press. 1s. 6d. net.

This booklet consists in a descriptive analysis of Vaughan Williams's works to date. The author has chosen the musical illustrations well, and readers who are unacquainted with these works will find it worth while to make use of his scheme of study. There is also a chapter in which the author attempts a valuation of Vaughan Williams's music. He finds him "downright," but does not sufficiently mention his mysticism, a quality which the later works have increasingly shown. He also says his music is "a most living expression of certain recognised features of English national character." Equally one of the most hopeful tokens to be found in this music is that it often rises above its original Englishry.

REVIEWS OF MUSIC

Abbreviations as follows:—Y[ear] B[ook] P[ress], Sch[irmer], O[xford] U[niversity] P[ress], St[ainer] and B[ell], Ch[ester], Aug[ener], W[inthrop] R[ogers], Cur[wen], J[oseph] W[illiams].

Full scores.

A clearly-printed full score of Vaughan Williams's 'Flos Campi' [O.U.P.] is a worthy memorial of that suave, dignified composition. We cannot yet place Vaughan Williams in the hierarchy of the great composers of the age. A living musician cannot, in the nature of things, become a subject of real discussion, except as regards the merit of one of his works over another. Of his work as a whole there is, naturally, no chance of appraisal. Guesses may be hazarded, but that is only a game. 'Flos campi' is an exquisite, delicately-intentioned movement, filled with what, for lack of a more exact nomenclature, we must call the mystic element that rides tandem with that other signal influence, the folk-song. Let no chorus lightly undertake the task of performing this work. Not lightly, but with close attention. It will be worth the labour when the time comes for joining forces with the orchestra that has been so finely written for.

Two movements from Handel's organ concertos have been arranged for strings (2 vns., viola, v'cello and bass) by Emily Daymond [Y.B.P.]. They are examples of the sort of music which can be played over and over with increasing pleasure, and are recommended for school orchestras as well as more advanced players.

Organ.

It is necessary for an elder generation to realise that the church has no longer the monopoly of organs, but that such instruments, which since long ago had been bound to the service of religion, are now finding an extended field of activity and are being used for purposes definitely secular. The cinema, for instance, has taken hold on the organ and gives it constant and varied employment. The result, as regards matters of registration, is far-reaching, and stops of the Vox Humana type (all those which are best calculated to emphasise the more heady kinds of sensibility) and the Mixtures are 'perfected' to a degree hitherto unknown. This secularisation of the organ has effected a corresponding change in the type of music acceptable for performance. From America there come three short pieces [Sch.] whose possible place in the literature of the organ is difficult to determine, unless the fresh scope of that branch of music is taken into account. These movements (three organ pieces by J. Sebastian Mathews) are of the kind that would suit a cinema, still more a private drawing-room fitted with one of the latest electric organs. As music there is less to be said for them. One more piece from the same firm is called 'Meditation in a cathedral' and is by Marco Enrico Bossi. The title is grandiose, for the music, rather pretty harmonically, melodically maundering, is more suited to a smaller building, something of the chapel kind. Two choral preludes by Robin Milford [O.U.P.] are altogether better stuff. This composer writes

according to good models, and, besides that, he fills out his work with thought original to himself. Parry is not far in the background, and he himself always had an eye on S. S. Wesley, who followed close on J. S. Bach. Eight choral preludes by T. Tertius Noble [O.U.P.] are good, again. This composer seems to have become enamoured of the large organ and the immense effect, which shows itself in a curious and surely needless doubling of the parts in writing, the sort of thing which the organ can do merely by mechanical means, and can be directed to do by a single registration note. The *Prélude Solennel*, for instance, has masses of bare octaves which can only be played smoothly by some mechanical contrivance. Really it all comes from a misunderstanding of the fundamental differences of pianoforte and organ technique. Four Sacred Songs by J. S. Bach are very beautiful music and the arrangement for organ by Bernard Jackson seems to have been done reverently. [O.U.P.] They are a welcome addition to organ music, short movements suitable for voluntaries and playable on small instruments.

Pianoforte.

There is no gainsaying the dangers of too-ready a classification of the works of unknown composers. A case in point is that of the works of Kaikhosru Sorabji, whose '*Le jardin parfumé*' [Cur.] looks so attractive in print, but whose pages have all the elusive concatenations of a page by Proust without a reading of them bringing any of the satisfaction which that author's penetrating mind affords as it illuminates the intricacies of a psychological problem. The harmonic progressions are often extremely beautiful, and as a pattern-maker this composer is very able. Possibly an instrument of percussion is not the best medium to employ for the expression of this kind of music. In any case, we feel clearly justified in awaiting a skilled performance before setting this long movement down as a waste of energy. May it perhaps be the sketch for a more defined work? Two volumes of pieces by Herbert Howells [O.U.P.] comprise some charming writing as well as delightful music of an easy grade. The '*Little book of dances*' is to be recommended to teachers. Every piece is well-turned, unexpectedly amusing and witty. The second volume called '*Country Pageant*' is altogether good, rather more difficult than that just mentioned. There is in it one movement ('*There was a most beautiful lady*') which is particularly alluring. Three pieces by Thomas S. Harold [Aug.] are fairly interesting, suitable for learners whose sight-reading, for instance, needs constant practice. The same may be said for a '*Humoresque*' by F. W. Massi-Hardman [Aug.] and two pieces by Frances Parkinson [Aug.]. '*Six moods*' by David Stephen [O.U.P.] have something interesting about them, though they go little enough distance away from ordinariness. They do, however, possess a certain definiteness as though there was an alert mind behind them. They vary in difficulty, all on the easy side. A '*Short study*' by A. M. Goodhart [Ch.] is pleasant and would make a suitable examination test. '*Three soliloquies*' by Arthur Baynon are at least unpretentious and have a certain charm. [O.U.P.] They are of no great difficulty. A *Bourrée* and *Musette* by Orlando Morgan [W.R.] are, again, nice pleasant stuff. None of the above approach within hailing distance of the two volumes by Herbert Howells, which are true music. Two '*Florentine sketches*' by Lee Pattison [Sch.]

do not say much, for all that they take a fair time saying it and make much fuss. At long last we come to a volume, edited by Margaret H. Glyn, which contains twenty-one short movements by John Bull [St. & B.] Assuredly the sixteenth century did these things better. Not one of this set is dull, not one but shows some pleasant invention. It is a mine of delightful movements. What a lovely thing, for example, 'Bull's Goodnight' is, and how touching and delicate 'The Princes.' There are, further, four of Walter Rummel's adaptations from the works of J. S. Bach. They go far, and end by being more Rummel than Bach.

Solo instruments with pianoforte.

Of chief interest is a sonata by Ernest Ealker for violoncello and pianoforte [O.U.P.] in three movements. Among a large number of works which have been passed in review during the last year, and which have been too often found to suffer from hasty workmanship and a facile manner of expression, a work such as this sonata comes as a refreshing sign that there still exist composers who can take pains. This is not great music, but it is infinitely more than just pleasant music. There is real consecution in the thought, the movements are built systematically, and though there are moments when a certain vagueness creeps into the development of the different sections of the work, yet the main impression is one of fine, sincere musicianship. There is nothing modern about this sonata. It is completely 'le temps retrouvé,' perhaps as near as we shall now get to the sort of thing Vinteuil would have written. The slow movement takes a noble pace. Throughout, the violoncello part is kept interesting. A 'Suite of dances' by William Clifford Heilman [Sch.] for the same instruments is in three sections. Here there is little that is constructive. It belongs to the just-pleasant variety of music, which is not to say that it is not good, but simply that it is hardly worth while and certainly has no lasting power. A Romance by C. F. Abel (whose dates are 1725-1787) is much better [Aug.]. But there seems to be a catch somewhere, for the arranger (Alfred Moffat) adds a note to the effect that 'The violin part as well as the piano part . . . is strictly copyright,' which appears to mean that the work has been so largely arranged as no longer to bear any resemblance to the original music of C. F. Abel. It is difficult to make out who did what, in that case. The violoncello part (also 'strictly copyright') is added to take the place of the violin part at need. Two pieces by Colin Taylor [O.U.P.] for violin and pianoforte are both well done and should be useful for purposes of higher-grade school work. A set of three short movements from Bach cantatas ('Slumber song' for violoncello and pianoforte, Adagio and Presto for violin and pianoforte) arranged by Harvey Grace [O.U.P.] are welcome additions to chamber music. In some places they give an uneasy sensation of being the slightest amount too much arranged, but on the whole the work has been carefully done. Alec Rowley's 'Pastel portraits' for violin, violoncello and pianoforte are light music of good quality. There are four short movements. Gustav Strube's Trio for the same instruments is a heavier, more serious piece of work [Sch.]. By their developments you shall know them, whether they are fine writers or just good musicians. This is a case of the latter. The turn of thought is ordinary, and the notes fall about into uneasy posturings, chords that

have no sense in the context, tunes that have no melody in them. The whole work sounds dry and forced.

Choral music.

A romantic light opera called 'The mermaid' has a libretto by George Birmingham and music by Sydney H. Nicholson [Cur.]. This has already passed the test of stage-production and been found adequate. The music is of the best light variety, straight from Sullivan with a glance at Edward German, and a slight flavour of folk-song. It is an altogether excellent piece of work and deserves to live. Nautical, also, is a (non-theatrical) choral work by Alec Rowley called 'By the deep: nine!' The material is taken from old sea songs. Alec Rowley is always pleasant to listen to. One is continually wondering why he is never any more than just that. 'In honour of the city' is a serious-minded work for chorus and orchestra by George Dyson [O.U.P.] with words by William Dunbar. The choral writing is often fine. What a chance, incidentally, in the setting of the lines 'Gem of all joy, jasper of jocundity, most mighty carbuncle of virtue and valour,' to express something rich and rare. This composer makes much of the opportunities the glorious words give him. Harmonically he is free, and poses some interesting problems for choral societies. So, of course, does Granville Bantock, but not only problems of a strange, incidental progression, so much as of a continual going and coming of accidentals which need constant watchfulness and a keen ear for satisfactory a-capella performance. In 'Isiah' [J.W.] this is the case. The setting is for six-part male voice choir. Herbert Howells is as daring, and in 'Sir Patrick Spens' for baritone solo, chorus and orchestra [St. & B.] there is much bold choral writing, a very original treatment of the voices, and some sure delineation of the various characters (the sailor, the sea, and so forth). The broad choral ending looks as though it would sound fine. Thomas Wood's 'Ballad of Hampstead Heath' is a fantasy for chorus and orchestra [St. & B.] to words by James Elroy Flecker. This is witty, pointed writing and needs very careful preparation if it is to come off properly. It must be excellent fun to spend a season getting up a work of this kind. The technique of management of the voices is extremely clever, and the effects are got with the minimum of effort for the singers. This work is to be recommended for the attention of choral societies. Three more of Bach's church cantatas edited by W. G. Whittaker are to be noted [O.U.P.]. There is now no longer any excuse for the neglect of Bach which might have been brought against us at the beginning of the century. This edition is in a handy form, well printed and edited helpfully. The edition of cantata No. 207 is a curiosity, the sort of thing which if it were brought out in a limited edition on fine paper, as is the habit with French publishers, would command a large notoriety. The words are by Stuart Wilson. Originally the text was made up in honour of a certain contemporary of Bach's, Professor Kortte. Later fresh words were put to the music, this time in honour of August the first of Saxony. Stuart Wilson felt that these two names would strike 'few responsive chords in our hearts,' and so made a new text to celebrate 'one of the greatest men of all time.' And thus this cantata appears 'In praise of Bach.' Gordon Jacob has re-scored the work for strings and pianoforte, and Harold Davidson has arranged a pianoforte accompaniment.

REVIEWS OF PERIODICALS

De Musiek. Amsterdam. December, 1928.

The first article is by Heer Pijper, who is the W. J. Turner of Dutch music criticism. Here he discusses absolute music (Het muzikaal absolutisme), making out a case for that music which has nothing to do with the stage (either opera or ballet) or even with the written word (song), but which stands for itself. This music, in its modern form (Schönberg, Hindemith, Bartók, etc.), has the surest future. A useful, informative study of Florent Schmitt's chamber music by M. Ferroud follows, after which comes an interesting discussion by Mr. Hubert Foss of the influence of mechanical contrivances on music.

January, 1929.

Sr. Adolfo Salazar writes on present day music in Spain, which he says may be taken to start with Pedrell's trilogy 'Les Pyrénées' and the same writer's pamphlet 'Per nuestra musica.' The author of this study (which is to be continued) traces influences from as far back as the seventeenth century. Heer Pieter Tiggers, a writer new to us, contributes an exhaustive and interesting review of von Riesenmann's 'Monographien zur Russischen Musik.' A short article by Heer J. F. Staal, with two illustrations, gives details of the plan for the new Opera House in Amsterdam which is to be erected between the Rijksmuseum and the Concertgebouw. There is an article on music teaching in German schools which should be read by school authorities here.

February.

Heer Willem Pijper writes on 'Music and Nationality.' He finds no good in the combination. 'Music is not international: it is universal.' But nevertheless, although things may be said in a different way in Denmark than in Yugoslavia, the utterance is the same and can be understood as well in Birmingham as in Stockholm. Sr. Adolfo Salazar contributes a second part to his article on present day Spanish music. There is a short article by Dr. Hans Holländer on Gustav Mahler's early years.

La Rassegna Musicale. Turin. December, 1928.

M. Calvocoressi has an article on a subject which has since long attracted attention: 'The authentic orchestration of "Boris Godounov."' The author has in view the new full-score published by the Russian State Publishing Department (O.U.P. here) and discusses Mussorgsky's methods of writing for the orchestra, covering much interesting and unknown territory. Needless to say, he pronounces in favour of the complete restitution of Mussorgsky's own full-score. Sig. Ferrero writes pleasantly on Chopin, Beethoven, Bach and the place they have in the life of especially young hearers. In 'Hinc libertas' Sig. Vittorio Gui writes on music as a spiritual ex-

perience, its æsthetic value, its liberating power. Sig. Parigi contributes a further section on 'La musica figurata' dealing with orchestra and pianoforte, and bringing the discussion down to the more modern painters.

January, 1929.

Having enunciated the belief that 'one of the most important offices of the critic . . . is to put ideas in motion once more,' Sig. Torrefranca proceeds to examine the different parts of the sonata and (the article is to be continued) to decide not so much their musical as their æsthetic content. Sig. Domenico Petrini has a second part to his article on the history of art and of taste, dealing here with Mazzini's musical philosophy. Sig. Luigi Perrachio writes enthusiastically on the late Beethoven pianoforte sonatas. There is an excellent article by Dr. Geiringer on music in seventeenth century Dutch and Flemish paintings. From the frequency with which artists such as Terborch, Metzu and Vermeer, painters of intimate scenes in the common life of the people, used music as a symbol of that life, the author is led to enquire into how far music really formed, at those times, part of the general life, and how much more then than now.

February.

A second part appears of Sig. Torrefranca's study of musical forms, which concludes the article. Sig. Guido Pannain contributes an article in the series of 'Contemporary composers' devoted to Ernest Bloch. Dr. Gieringer completes his notes on the Dutch and Flemish masters, and their connection with music.

Spanish periodicals.

Musicalia (La Habana).—This, the latest addition to the number of Spanish-American musical reviews, is attractively printed and well-edited. It appears every two months. We can forgive Cuba for describing England as 'a country which lacks musical tradition,' and pass over those writers who are still in the 'Armistice period' with M. Cocteau, in order to turn our attention to the more specifically Spanish and Spanish-American contributions. Among these is a good article on Manuel de Falla, by Antonio Quevedo (May-June, 1928), and a study of 'Afro-Cuban' music by Fernando Ortiz (November-December, 1928). The article by Eduardo L. Chavarrí (September-October, 1928), is, as those who know his research work would expect, a valuable contribution to his subject. It deals with the mention of descant in an early Spanish poem by Gonzalo de Berceo (1180?-1245?), in which (like Chaucer a hundred and fifty years later) he describes the birds singing in parts, like the choir in his own monastery. 'Some held the fifth, and others doubled it; others held the "point" . . .', i.e., they were singing in diaphony, in parallel fourths and fifths. The idea of the birds singing matins like a trained choir was well-known to mediæval poets. Besides Chaucer, in 'The Book of the Duchess,' where they sing a 'solempne servyse by note,' and 'The Parlement of the Foules,' where they sing a roundel, there is the pseudo-Chaucerian 'Court of Love,' in which the birds sing matins and lauds; and Lydgate's 'Devotions of the Fowls.' Another interesting contribution (July-August, 1928) is that by the editor herself, Doña María Muñoz de Quevedo, on music for children. It is pleasant to think that small pianists in Cuba are being taught the

delightful children's pieces by Béla Bartók. Five of them are reprinted in this number as a supplement.

The *Graceta Musical*, the Spanish-American musical review published in Paris, continues to maintain its high standard. (The latest number to arrive is that for Oct.-Dec., 1928.) E. L. Chavarri contributes a note on the hurdy-gurdy, the *viola de rueda* in Spain. Alejo Carpentier writes on the Latin-American composer Hector Villa-Lobos, with the inevitable mention of M. Cocteau; while Adolfo Salazar has sensible things to say on the music of the 'Ballets Españoles' in Paris, and the 'consequences of the Boulevard.' (July-August, 1928.) Joaquín Turina has a brief note on the Spanish composer and conductor, Bartolomé Pérez Casas. Luis A. Delgadillo writes on the musical folk-lore of Nicaragua, and the same number (September, 1928) contains a long article on the musical aspect of Greek religion, by Georges Meautis.

Mundo Musical (Buenos Aires) is published by the 'Asociación de profesorado orquestal' (Orchestral Players' Association) of that city, and is concerned chiefly with the work of the Philharmonic Orchestra, now in the eighth year of its existence. The first number appeared in November, 1928.

Revista musical catalana (Barcelona). This is the oldest musical review in Spain and one of the oldest in Europe, for it is now in its twenty-sixth year. Barcelona is more definitely 'Central European' in its outlook than any other musical centre in Spain or Spanish-America; and, thanks to the Society of the 'Orfeó Català' and the orchestra conducted by Pablo Casals, music seems to be more deeply rooted there than anywhere else in the Spanish-speaking countries. Besides articles of general musical interest, the January number includes an extremely well-informed article on the foundations of English opera apropos of the recent book by Professor Dent; together with the first part of what promises to be a valuable antiquarian study (by Vicente Ripollés) of the *Canciones y Villanescas* of Francisco Guerrero, printed in 1580. The only complete set of part-books known is in the Colegio del Patriarca, at Valencia, the library of which is difficult of access and prohibits the copying of music—to foreign students, at any rate.

Revista de Occidente (Madrid). This excellent monthly review as a rule devotes far too little space to music. The long article by Adolfo Salazar in the December number is, therefore, doubly welcome; under the title of 'Spanish Music in the time of Goya,' it gives a history of music in Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the first half of the nineteenth, which will have to be read by all who are interested in Spanish music.

J. B. T.

Musica d'Oggi. Milan. November, 1928.

The characters that Schubert portrays in his songs form the subject of a short paper by Sig. della Corte. Schubert's romanticism is discussed by M. Paul Landormy in an article whose second part, dealing with an aspect more definitely technical, possibly has a more definite value. Sig. Arturo Lancelotti has an historical article on the Pergola opera house at Florence.

December.

Heine's opinions and ideas about music form the basis of an article by Sig. Arnaldo Bonaventura. Heine's letters, and the articles he

wrote for German newspapers, give an amusing view of late nineteenth century Paris. He seems to have had a remarkably clear idea of the worth of Berlioz as a composer.

Musikblätter des Anbruch. Vienna. December, 1928.

This number (which is called 'Jahrbuch, 1929') is given up wholly to song and its attendant questions: voice, opera, etc. Herr Anton Hardörfer writes on male-voice choirs. Herr Paul Pisk has some interesting things to impart about musical organisations among workers. Herr Walter Braunfels writes on voice and the orchestra, a subject taken up also by Herr Krenek (it is of interest that the opening sentence from the pen of the composer of 'Jonny spielt auf' should be 'The human voice is a bad musical instrument'). It is not possible to pass in review all that this double number contains. Not the least interesting is a short note on Monteverdi by Sig. Malipiero. There is a long article on wireless singing by Herr Alfred Szendrei. Also one on singing for the 'talkie' film by Herr Frank Warschauer. Further there are short articles on the latest vocal music by eminent modern composers.

Pult und Taktstock. Vienna. November, 1928.

There is a reasoned article by Herr Eduard Steuerman on a difficult question: which is to be followed, the original text of a work, or that which has been edited for practical purposes, greater ease in presentation? Herr Hans Gal writes on the technique of choral performance and methods of study. There is an interesting enquiry into what exactly weighs with a concert-giver in putting together his programmes: shall old works or new be given preponderance, how shall the worth of a work (at least from the point of view of a public hearing) be gauged, how long shall a concert last, etc.?

December.

Kurt Atterberg contributes a short notice on the *tempi* of his new symphony. He describes himself as 'the unfortunate winner of the Columbia Schubert Prize.' Herr Erwin Stein writes on what criteria should be used in attempting to settle the artistic value of a musical work.

Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft. Leipzig. November, 1928.

An article by Herr Otto Deutsch begins thus: 'Among Schubert's choral works there is a trio with pianoforte accompaniment, much favoured by choral societies and, like "Der Hochzeitsbraten," often performed in costume. It is the comic trio called "Die Advokaten," published on May 16, 1827, by A. Diabelli and Co., as op. 74. . . . Herr Deutsch appraises this work as not being that of Schubert, and is able to affix to it the name of its real composer, Anton Fischer, a contemporary of Schubert. There is a lengthy but very informative article on Schubert-biographers (with justly honourable mention of George Grove) by Herr Willi Kahl. Herr Paul Mies writes on the meaning of unison in Schubert's songs. Herr Robert Lachmann con-

tributes a useful article on the Schubert MSS. in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

December.

Herr Moritz Bauer discusses Schubert's position as a composer of songs, his methods as a handler of poems, finally, how he was looked on by contemporary critics (this last with excerpts from the Press of his day), and what influence he has had on later composers. Schubert's musical forms are discussed by Herr Marc André Souchay in a long, well-documented article. Ludwig Stark, finding that Schubert had not composed all the 'Schöne Müllerin' poems of Wilhelm Müller, set himself to fill in the gaps and entitled the result 'Nachtrag zu allen Ausgaben des Liedercyclus "Die schöne Müllerin" von Franz Schubert.' Herr Landau has a descriptive notice on this 'Schubert-Ergänzung.' M. Prod'homme describes the Schubert MSS. in the library of the Paris Conservatoire, covering the same ground as in his article in the *Revue de Musicologie* for November.

January, 1929.

Herr Walter Harburger has an article on the mathematical aspect of the science of music, with special reference to the latest advances in the realm of physics. Sixteenth century music is discussed by Herr Arnold Schering from the differing points of view of the musical organism and of declamatory rhythm. Herr Wilhelm Heinitz examines a (medieval?) MS. and attempts an analysis. Herr E. F. Kossman contributes an article on the choral writing of Zelter's 'Auferstehungskantate.'

La Revue Musicale. Paris. December, 1928.

This is a reputable Schubert number, starting with a poem by Mme. de Noailles, which is followed by a laudatory essay from the pen of André Suarès. M. Boris de Schloezer gets nearer to actualities ('Le problème Schubert'), as does M. Lionel Landry in a short disquisition on his poetic genius. M. Herbert Biehle's article on Schubert and the German *lied* is of interest. M. Paul Land writes well on the symphonies; so does M. Lazare Lévy on the pianoforte works. There is an interesting series of portraits and reproductions, and a pleasant article by M. Prod'homme on Schubert's friends.

January, 1929.

M. Hoérée has a biographical article on Honegger. M. Koehlin writes on the part played by 'sensibilité' in music, taking as his theme a remark made, in a letter, by Saint-Saëns: 'L'art est fait pour exprimer la beauté et le caractère. La sensibilité ne vient qu'après, et l'on peut parfaitement s'en passer,' a remark which the author holds to be dangerous. M. Raymond Petit writes on Lazare Saminsky and Hebrew music. There is an article by Sig. Pasquale Fienga on the latest research on the question of Alessandro Scarlatti's family and birthplace.

Revue de Musicologie. Paris. November, 1928.

M. Prod'homme contributes an article on the Schubert MSS. in the library of the Paris Conservatoire. There is a biographical article by M. Charles Bouvet on a forgotten musician: Charles Piroye, an organist and composer who flourished in the late seventeenth century.

There is an interesting fourth part to Mlle. Pereyra's article on the virginal books in the library of the Paris Conservatoire. M. Lionel Bataillon writes on the restorations of the organ of the cathedral at Evreux undertaken in the eighteenth century.

The Musical Quarterly. New York. January.

A memorial notice of O. G. Sonneck opens this number. Daniel Gregory Mason discusses the 'depreciation of music.' Ludwig Bonvin has an informative article on 'measure' in Gregorian music. Dr. Hans Hollander writes on Leos Janacek and his operas. Herbert Antcliffe writes on the development of technique of musical performance. There is an interesting description by Lota M. Spell of early music books printed in America. American music is discussed by Harry Colin Thorpe in his article on songs by native writers. An article by Edgar Istel on Albeniz is worth reading.

GRAMOPHONE RECORDS

Orchestral

H.M.V. Tchaikovsky: *Symphony No. 5 in E minor* (London Ronald and The New Symphony Orchestra). Taken by and large this is a worthy piece of recording. In some ways the conductor has provided a rather wilful reading of the score, though that is not so noticeable as to spoil the hearer's enjoyment. One point might have been bettered, that of the balance of the instrumental groups. The most lasting impression this record leaves is one of the noisiness of the symphony. Undoubtedly as a work it is loud and often brutally so. But there are other qualities it possesses, and these do not come sufficiently to the fore in this record. Probably the brass might have been placed further in the background. The orchestral playing is generally excellent.

Richard Strauss: *Death and Transfiguration* (Albert Coates and The London Symphony Orchestra). From the musician's point of view no library should be without a copy of some record of this work. The important point is to choose the best reproduction. This one is satisfactory, with one exception, which has to do with the eternal question of basses. This is not by any means all the fault of those in charge of the recording of this difficult work. Richard Strauss is notoriously hard to cater for in this respect. A study of the full score, or close attention to a performance in the concert-hall, will both reveal the astonishing weakness of his basses, how time after time he piles a mass of sound into the middle and upper registers of the orchestra, leaving hardly more than the lower strings to form a basis for the whole structure. The result is liable to be top-heavy, and in recording it seems essential to move the bass strings (doubled, possibly) into such a position as will ensure the fullest effect being obtained from them. The same, clearly, for the drums, which here are inaudible in the important solo passages in the introduction, and, again, at that unforgettable *crescendo* in the fifth record (p. 100, bar 8 of the miniature score).

Haydn: *Violoncello concerto in D major* (Guilhermina Suggia and an orchestra conducted by John Barbirolli). This anonymous orchestra plays very well and accompanies ably. The violoncello is not an easy instrument for purposes of recording. There seems little hope of getting anything between a robust rotundity and a feeble transparency of tone. Mme. Suggia, nearly always overtopping the orchestra, makes a good show. Her phrasing will be of interest to violoncellists. There is a moment in the last movement when her *portamento* becomes rather insistent.

Elgar: *Violoncello concerto* (Beatrice Harrison, and the composer conducting The New Symphony Orchestra). This is a notable record, and one which gives the impression of very careful preparation. The orchestra plays neatly, yet with fervour. That latter quality is, of course, the one above all others to be expected of the soloist, and this being one of the works she most favours, it may be imagined that the chances of a fine rendering are very fair. And the result corresponds. Miss Harrison comes through extraordinarily well, her tone is continuously good, and there is nothing worth mentioning that could be improved.

De Falla's *Nights in the gardens of Spain* is the kind of music that needs care in reproduction, above all in the relative position of the various orchestral bodies. In these records the difficulty has not altogether been solved. The strings are often too loud. A symphony orchestra, conducted by M. Coppola, does satisfactorily, with the exception of the third movement (records 4 and 5), where there is some muddled sound and two places where the ensemble between pianoforte and orchestra wavers. Mme. van Barentzen gives a clear, slightly mechanical, performance.

Wagner: *Selected passages from 'The Rhinegold' and 'Siegfried.'* As an aid to the study of 'The Ring' there can be nothing better than this good set of records. They would be useful both before a performance, to prepare the ground, and afterwards, to refresh the memory. The set has been well

chosen and, with the accompanying letterpress, gives a fair idea of the two operas. It is regrettable that three Wotans are employed (Arthur Fear, Friederich Schorr and Emil Schipper), for their different readings are confusing. The Erda of Maria Olczewska is stylish singing. Laubenthal is Siegfried, Frida Leider is Brünnhilde, Walter Widdop, Howard Fry and Kennedy MacKenna are Loge, Donner and Froh. The three orchestras (London Symphony, Berlin State, Vienna State) are equally good.

Vocalion. There are a number of records, for review, of music played by Guards Bands. A general criticism is that there is little attempt at real interpretation in these records. The music is just played through, in such a way as to make the hearer wonder whether any understanding is behind all this wind. *Finlandia*, for instance, makes a great noise and so does *Ruy Blas*, but that is as far as it is possible to get. There is no doubting the efficiency of these military bands, but surely there is scope for musicianship even here.

Vocal

H.M.V. Mme. Galli-Curci has the perfect recording voice. Seldom does one catch more than a complete word at a time, but there is a lot of bird-like tone, and a marvellous display of *bravura*. In *La Paloma* this latter is absent, with rather a pleasing result. The music is sung to Spanish words, but they are unrecognisable as belonging to any other tongue than that of 'the singer,' in this case a prime example. Two songs sung by Giovanni Martinelli are instances of what a tenor voice can be persuaded to do. The singing is forceful and assured. *Vesti la giubba* is well done, as is also *No, Pagliaccio, non son*, which is worth possessing if only for its uncanny terrible opening, one of the most ghostly experiences the gramophone has ever provided.

Choral

H.M.V. Three unusual choral recordings call for especial comment, and also for like commendation. They are made by the Leeds Festival (1928) Choir, with the London Symphony Orchestra, the whole conducted by Hugh Allen. The records were

made at the actual festival and consist of the *Gloria* and *Quoniam* (one record) and the *Et resurrexit* from Beethoven's Mass in D, and two choruses by J. S. Bach (one record) *Watch ye, pray ye* and *Now shall the grace*. There are rough places in the singing, the words have largely to be taken on trust, but it cannot be denied that these records are anything but a fine possession, and a great step forward in the reproduction of massed choir-singing. They faithfully present the magnificence of a huge choir performing great music. The end of the *Et resurrexit* is an outstanding example of this at its highest. These records need a big room and not too loud a needle.

Instrumental

National Gramophonic Society. Mozart: *Quintet in E flat major* (K. 452), for pianoforte, oboe, clarinet, horn and bassoon (Kathleen Long, Leon Goossens, Frederick Thurston, Aubrey Brain and J. Alexander). This is not only a wonderfully successful performance of a very beautiful work, but also a remarkably praiseworthy piece of recording. The balance of tone, in especial, is finely adjusted. There is nothing to mention about this record that is not good, and so it may be left with a general recommendation for those who appreciate the best style of recording and the greatest music. The N.G.S. are to be congratulated on their latest effort.

H.M.V. Cortot plays two pieces (Handel's *Variations on the Harmonious Blacksmith* and Chopin's *Berceuse*) with a result not altogether happy, for reasons that have partly to do with himself (pedestrian playing in the Handel) and partly with the poor reproduction of pianoforte tone these records show. Granted that this is the worst instrument to record. But better effects have been obtained in the past than here.

The Aguilar Lute Quartet have made two records of great interest. One contains three fifteenth century capriccios for *vihuelas* (Spanish lutes), the other an arrangement of Turina's *Festa Mora en Tangier*. They must be played with a soft needle otherwise the lutes sound as metallic as any Wagnerian hammers.

Sc. G.

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CARL ENGEL, Editor.

April, 1929

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